DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 128 524 UD 016 297

AUTHOR	Bullock, Charles S., III
TITLE	School Desegregation, Inter-Racial Contact and Prejudice. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Houston Univ., Tex.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO	BR-3-0182
PUB DATE	30 Jul 76
NOTE	135p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bias; Caucasian Students; Comparative Analysis; Cultural Context; *Cultural Interrelationships; Grade 8; Grade 10; Grade 12; *High School Students; Individual Characteristics; Negro Students; *Race Relations; Racial Attitudes; Racial Differences; Racial Factors; Racial Integration; Racism; Role Perception; *School Integration; Social Attitudes; *Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	*Georgia

ABSTRACT

Research reported here deals with 5,800 Georgia high school students' racial attitudes. Data were collected using a paper and pencil survey instrument administered to blacks and whites in 28 schools. A total of 21 independent variables were selected through an extensive literature search and used in the analysis. These were grouped into four categories: interracial contact, background characteristics of the respondents, perceptions of the racial attitudes of reference groups, and psychological attitudes. When bivariate relationships were inspected, tolerance among whites was shown to be related to frequent interracial contact, higher status, extensive parental education, and 12 other variables. Among blacks, fewer variables were associated with racial tolerance and the relationships were weaker. These were: high educational aspirations; being older, female, and urban; having good grades, high self-esteem, and anomie; and perceiving tolerance. Among family, friends, and community, the relative importance of the correlates of racial tolerance was assessed through step-wise multiple regression. Perceptions of the attitudes of parents was generally the most important variable. (Author/AM)

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FINAL REPORT

School Desegregation, Inter-Racial Contact and Prejudice

National Institute of Education Project No. 3-0182

Charles S. Bullock, III
Principal Investigator

University of Houston
Houston, Texas

July 30, 1976

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

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School Desegregation, Inter-Racial Contact, and Prejudice

Abstract

Charles S. Bullock, III
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Research reported here deals with 5,800 Georgia high school students' racial attitudes. Data were collected using a paper and pencil survey instrument administered to blacks and whites in 28 schools.

A total of 21 independent variables were used in the analysis. Selection of variables was guided by an extensive literature search. Independent variables analyzed are grouped into four categories: inter-racial contact, background characteristics of the respondents, perceptions of the racial attitudes of reference groups, and psychological attitudes.

When bivariate relationships are inspected, tolerance among white students is shown to be related to frequent inter-racial contact, higher status, extensive parental education, good grades, high educational aspirations, being older, attending schools with few blacks, perceiving racial tolerance among parents, friends, and community, being female, living in an urban area, high self esteem, and low anomie. Among blacks, fewer variables are associated with racial tolerance and the relationships are generally weaker than for whites. Variables associated with black racial tolerance are high educational aspirations, being older, female, and urban, having good grades, high self esteem and anomie, and perceiving tolerance among family, friends, and community.

Step-wise multiple regression was used to assess the relative importance of the correlates of racial tolerance. Perceptions of the attitudes of ones'

parents was generally the most important variable. Perceptions of the attitudes of friends was also typically a useful independent variable. Inter-racial contact played a role in the equations for most sets of white respondents but not for blacks. Self esteem was a more useful correlate for blacks than for whites. Background characteristics, except for educational aspirations, added little to the explanatory power of the multiple regression models. Approximately half of the variance could be explained for sets of white students. The variables were less successful in accounting for variance among blacks.

Acknowledgements

Support from the National Institute of Education permitted me to obtain the skills of four conscientious and talented people. Mary Victoria Braxton supervised the collection of data from almost 6,000 students. At several points Ms. Braxton's ability to negotiate access with suspicious school officials saved the study. Joseph E. Stewart, Jr. worked for months getting the data ready to run on the University of Houston's computer system and then making the necessary runs. Jeanne C. Slataper helped with a mumber of chores involved in finishing up this report. To Debbie Wall went the unenviable task of typing the report -- often quite a chore given the author's penmanship. I am deeply indebted to all these people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1
Introduction 1

Chapter 2
Inter-Racial Contact 16

Chapter 3
Respondents' Background Characteristics 30

Chapter 4
Perceived Parental Attitudes, School Desegregation, and Student Racial Attitudes 73

Chapter 5
Age and Shifting Correlates of Racial Prejudice 81

Chapter 6
Anomie and Self-Concept 90

Chapter 7 102

References 123

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It has been widely assumed that when black and white children attend school together, their racial attitudes will change. Proponents of desegregation have hoped that observing members of the other race in the classroom, interacting on the playground, and participating in social activities will undercut racial stereotypes. Interpersonal contact was expected to point up contradictions in the generalizations which students applied to members of the other race. The anticipated end result was an increase in racial tolerance. Segregationists also acknowledged that interracial contact would diminish prejudice. Thus they warned that school desegregation would ultimately lead to transgressing the taboo against miscegenation.

Many southern whites had such negative views of blacks that if any change of attitude occurred, it would have to be in the direction of moderation. Historically most southern whites' contact with blacks had been limited to some form of superior-subordinate relationship. Behavior of blacks in menial roles where they deferred to whites conformed with the widely popular myth of white superiority. First-hand experiences in school with blacks who were good students or who assumed positions of leadership would challenge the stereotypes. Some whites would treat such observations as exceptional cases but others would go a step further and begin to re-evaluate the accuracy of their general perceptions. This process would lead, at the least, to modifications in racial attitudes.

Reduction of racial hostility, to the extent that it occurred, was expected to result from biracial contact. Attending an officially desegregated school, but in which one attended classes only with members of his or her race, participated only in extracurricular activities with students of the same race, and rode a school bus all of whose passengers were the same race, would probably do little to challenge existing stereotypes. Such extreme racial isolation was not uncommon during the early days of desegregation. Even now use of ability grouping produces some one-race classes and residential patterns produce some one-race bus routes. Some extracurricular activities in some schools attract participants from only one race (Gottlieb and Ten Houten, 1965: 204-212). Therefore more critical than school desegregation in determining racial attitudes is inter-racial contact within the schools and at school functions.

Beginning with the Brown v. Board of Education decision and cresting with the buoyant optimism of the Coleman Report (1966), there has been the widely held expectation among social scientists that school desegregation would produce a variety of benefits. During the last decade, growing numbers of social scientists and educators have changed their outlooks. First, there were the methodological criticisms of Coleman's work (see, for example, Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972). Then came longitudinal studies challenging the belief that desegregated blacks demonstrated greater academic achievement than did their segregated peers. (Armor, 1972). Finally, as court orders for desegregation have shattered the complacence of the North, some scholars -- including Coleman (1976) -- have concluded that the disruptions produced by large scale urban desegregation more than offset any educational gains produced.

In what is probably the best review of the impact literature on school desegregation, St. John (1975) points out the inconclusiveness of the findings. While St. John is not overly optimistic about the ability of biracial education to live up to the expectations of some proponents, her survey of research which looks at the effects of desegregation on academic achievement, self confidence, and racial prejudice reveals findings which could be used to bolster almost any position.

With scholarly opinion so divided, it is unlikely that yet another study will put to rest the debate over the relative merits of desegregation. Certainly the research findings of this report on racial attitudes cannot instruct policy makers about the trade off points between costs and benefits of desegregation or about the amount of desegregation which should be achieved to produce maximum racial tolerance.

In a number of ways, however, the research reported here sheds light on race relations under conditions which scholars have studied very little. The purpose of this study is to measure the racial attitudes of a large number of high school students in the Deep South and to determine the correlates of these attitudes.

This study differs from most of its predecessors in five important aspects. First, the research was conducted in the Deep South. Most of the studies dealing with racial attitudes which St. John (1975: 182-188) reviewed were done in the North. Of 22 she summarizes, only three were carried out in the South and of these one was in the Deep South. The history of race relations in the South differs from that of other regions so that the impact of desegregation on racial attitudes may also vary in the South from elsewhere.

Second, unlike this research project which had more than 5,800 respondents, much of the earlier research relies on rather small surveys. For example, of the studies dealing with racial attitudes on which St. John reports, only four had more than 1,000 respondents and 16 had fewer than 500 respondents. The single Deep South study focused on 152 students.

Third, this study taps racial attitudes in a relatively large number of schools, 28. Many of the studies considered by St. John were limited to fewer than ten schools. A fourth difference, which is related to the third, is the variety in the racial compositions of the schools included. Racial make-up of the schools in this study ranges from all-white to all-black, with several combinations in between. Many of the earlier studies have inspected schools with only a handful of blacks. In five of the studies summarized by St. John, the samples had fewer than 100 blacks. A third of the studies considered by St. John had samples composed of members of one race. The larger number of students, schools, and the variations in school racial composition make the results of this study more widely generalizable than were many earlier works.

Fifth, the research reported here was conducted in several schools which were very reluctant to desegregate. Of the 11 school districts in which one or more public schools were surveyed, three desegregated fairly willingly, i.e. in response to urgings from HEW's Office for Civil Rights. Four other systems came into compliance with the public policy requiring that dual school systems be abolished after losing suits sponsored by private litigants. Four held out until subjected to more coercive pressures.[1] Of these, one accepted a court ordered plan, but not until after its federal education funds had been cut off. The other three systems desegregated fully only when they were threatened with loss of the largest component of their budgets, i.e. the portion provided by the state. Most other studies of racial attitudes were conducted in school systems which implemented desegregation voluntarily. Only the study done in South Carolina (McWhirt, 1967) seems likely to have been conducted in an environment as hostile to desegregation as that found in several of the Georgia schools.

The differences spelled out above indicate that the research to be reported will provide insights into racial attitudes in a context rarely inspected by scholars. Since this research has been carried out in the Deep South where resistance to initial desegregation was often extreme, it may reveal current racial attitudes unlike those found in communities which initiated desegregation more readily and/or which had smaller black enrollments. Data have been gathered which will permit the inspection of relationships between a number of variables which others have found to be correlated with racial attitudes.

SAMPLE

The data analyzed consist of responses to a paper and pencil survey administered to approximately 5,800 students in Georgia schools. The schools surveyed were scattered throughout the state. The chief consideration in selection was access. Despite promises of anonymity, school officials were often unwilling to allow their students to be surveyed, fearing that the survey instrument would bring to the fore latent racial animosities. Rural school officials were more willing to approve using their schools than were urban administrators.

Of those surveyed 58 percent were white and 42 percent were black; 36 percent were eighth graders, 37 percent were sophomores, and 27 percent were seniors. Half of the sample (49.6 percent) attended schools in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and will be referred to as the urban segment of the study. Males and females were evenly represented in the sample. The data were collected during 1974 and early 1975 in 28 schools. Five of the schools were private, the others were public.

In terms of racial composition, the entire range was covered in this cross-sectional study. In both the urban and rural subsets an all-black and an all-white school were surveyed. (Some one race schools had a few members of the other race, but the enrollment was at least 99 percent majority race.) Also two of the private schools were all-white academies (one urban and one rural) which educated the children of whites unwilling to accept desegregated schools. Schools were also selected which were 8-20 percent black, 40-50 percent black, 51-60 percent black, 61-70 percent black, and 71-80 percent black.

In rural schools an attempt was made to survey all eighth, tenth, and twelfth graders. Because of the much larger enrollments in urban schools, we sought to survey between 100 and 200 in each class.

Dependent Variable

The measurement of racial attitudes was done using eight questions developed by Herbert M. Greenberg (1961: 106-108). These questions tap the racial tolerance of respondents in several contexts. Students were asked how they felt about interacting with classmates of the other race in several environments, for example, cafeteria, school bus, and classrooms. Other questions focused on students' levels of prejudice. (The wording of the questions used is presented in Table 1.) Responses to the questions were made using a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree with undecided at the mid-point.

(Table 1 goes here)

Inspection of responses to the individual questions reveals that the bulk of the respondents were positive toward members of the other race on all

TABLE 1

Student Responses to Racial Attitudes Questions
(in percent)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
1. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my race or a different one.	33.7	46.8	9.1	5.0	2.9	2.5
2. Racial groups should sit at separate tables in the cafeteria.	6.2	7.7	10.6	32.4	40.1	3.0
3. Members of any race should be allowed to sit anywhere on school buses.	51.5	34.5	4.0	3.5	3.9	2.6
4. There is no basic reason for feeling prejudiced against another race.	23.1	41.4	14.4	11.8	6.8	2.5
5. Having members of other races on my school's athletic teams would result in more "dirty playing" and unsportsmanlike conduct.	5.9	9.9	15.8	34.7	30.2	3.5
6. I believe that a member of the other race could become a very close friend of mine.	25.4	42.7	16.2	6.9	5.2	3.6
7. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe that my race is superior and should be accepted as such.	19.0	23.1	17.7	23.3	14.0	3.0
8. I would be willing to sit next to a member of another race in class.	24.4	54.7	9.2	5.0	3.4	3.3

but one item in the scale. Except for the question about perceived superiority of the respondent's race, between 64.5 and 86.0 percent of the respondents indicated racial tolerance in their answers. All but 14 percent of the students supported school bus desegregation and 80.5 percent expressed willingness to have teachers of the opposite race. An absence of racial bias was less often shown on questions about whether racial prejudice was rational and whether members of the other race introduced dirty play into athletic contests. On these items, 64.5 and 64.9 percent, respectively, answered in an unprejudiced fashion.

The one question on which fewer than a majority of the students rejected responses indicating prejudice was the one asking whether one's own race was superior. A slight plurality (42.1 percent) agreed with this statement while 37.3 percent rejected the notion of superiority. The more frequent support for belief in racial superiority is probably due not simply to traditional feelings by southern whites but also to the racial pride which has developed among many blacks in recent years.

Separate inspections of the responses of black and white students reveal greater similarities than might have been expected (see Tables 2 and 3). On six questions, when we combine the proportion of responses in the two most tolerant categories, we find that the distribution of whites and blacks differs by less than four percentage points and on three questions the difference is less than one percentage point. The only sizable differences occur on questions 5 (12.6 percentage points) and 7 (29.1 percentage points). On both of these questions the racial differences are attributable to blacks giving less tolerant responses than whites. Blacks more readily affirmed the propositions that members of the other race were guilty of unsportsmanlike conduct and that their race was superior.

Differences in response patterns to the question about racial superiority are particularly interesting. A majority of the black students (58.0 percent) indicated that they thought their race was superior, contrasted with only 30.1 percent of the whites who agreed with the idea of white superiority. The black figures would seem to indicate the effects of the "Black is Beautiful" rhetoric designed to raise self esteem.

The lower percentage for whites is undoubtedly far below the results which would have been obtained had a similar survey been administered to a comparable sample even a few years earlier. Since this is not a longitudinal study, we cannot demonstrate that the extent of belief in white superiority is a product of experiences in desegregated schools. It seems likely, however, that white attitudes have moderated as a result of the changes wrought by the civil rights movement.

(Tables 2 and 3 go here)

Factor analysis was used to determine whether all eight questions were tapping the same dimension. As shown in Table 4, the loadings are all fairly strong, having values between .449 and .712. Having determined that the eight questions tap a single dimension for racial attitudes, a scale was developed by adding the factor scores for each respondent on the eight items. Responses to three questions (2, 5, and 7) were recoded so that the tolerant and intolerant poles were made the same for all questions. Factor scores on the racial tolerance scale serve as the dependent variable throughout this report. On the racial tolerance scale and others, scores have been multiplied by 100.

(Table 4 goes here)

TABLE 2

Black Student Responses to Racial Attitudes Questions (in percent)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
1. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my race or a different one.	38.9	41.4	7.6	4.7	3.0	4.4
2. Racial groups should sit at separate tables in the cafeteria.	6.1	8.0	8.4	31.3	41.2	5.0
3. Members of any race should be allowed to sit anywhere on school buses.	57.4	28.9	2.8	3.4	3.1	4.4
4. There is no basic reason for feeling prejudiced against another race.	23.5	40.6	12.5	11.7	7.7	3.9
5. Having members of other races on my school's athletic teams would result in more "dirty playing" and unsportsmanlike conduct.	6.4	13.0	17.7	32.6	25.2	5.0
6. I believe that a member of the other race could become a very close friend of mine.	26.0	44.3	13.2	5.4	4.5	6.5
7. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe that my race is superior and should be accepted as such.	29.0	29.8	15.9	14.1	6.3	4.9
8. I would be willing to sit next to a member of another race in class.	23.1	54.4	8.8	5.3	3.0	5.4

TABLE 3

White Student Responses to Racial Attitude Questions
(in percent)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
1. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my race or a different one.	30.1	50.8	10.0	5.3	2.8	0.9
2. Racial groups should sit at separate tables in the cafeteria.	6.4	7.6	12.2	33.5	39.2	1.2
3. Members of any race should be allowed to sit anywhere on school buses.	47.3	38.8	4.9	3.5	4.5	1.0
4. There is no basic reason for feeling prejudiced against another race.	22.9	42.3	15.7	11.9	6.1	1.2
5. Having members of other races on my school's athletic teams would result in more "dirty playing" and unsportsmanlike conduct.	5.4	7.6	14.4	36.7	33.7	2.2
6. I believe a member of the other race could become a very close friend of mine.	24.9	41.8	18.4	7.9	5.7	1.3
7. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe my race is superior and should be accepted as such.	11.6	18.5	19.0	29.9	19.6	1.3
8. I would be willing to sit next to a member of another race in class.	25.2	55.4	9.4	4.9	3.6	1.6

TABLE 4

QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDE VARIABLE WITH FACTOR LOADINGS

Questions	Factor Loadings	Tolerant Responses
1. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my race or a different one.	.62368	80.5%
2. Racial groups should sit at separate tables in the cafeteria.[a]	.66585	72.5
3. Members of any race should be allowed to sit anywhere on school buses.	.62049	86.0
4. There is no basic reason for feeling prejudiced against another race.	.52700	64.5
5. Having members of other races on my school's athletic teams would result in more "dirty playing" and unsportsmanlike conduct.[a]	.58491	64.9
6. I believe that a member of the other race could become a very close friend of mine.	.67793	68.1
7. Regardless of what anyone else says, I believe that my race is superior and should be accepted as such.[a]	.44887	37.3
8. I would be willing to sit next to a member of another race in class.	.71236	79.1

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[a] Responses to these questions were recoded so that they would be in the same direction as the other five questions.

Correlates of Tolerance

In the remainder of this report, a number of possible correlates of racial attitudes will be analyzed. Each analysis will be preceded by a review of the relevant research literature. Drawing on the research of others, hypotheses will be suggested and their appropriateness for the Georgia data will then be tested.

Inter-racial contact is the subject of Chapter 2. The three measures of inter-racial contact used in this report will be explained and the amount of interaction occurringacross racial lines will be described. The relationships between the measures of inter-racial contact and tolerance will be analyzed.

Chapter 3 looks at a number of personal characteristics which scholars have suggested are associated with racial attitudes. The accuracy of hypotheses based on the findings of others for the present data-set are explored. After the distributions of responses across these variables are considered, controls for the amount of inter-racial contact will be imposed and the patterns of responses will be reconsidered.

Chapter 4 deals with the influence of parental racial attitudes as perceived by the students. First, bivariate relationships between perceived parental racial tolerance and student tolerance will be presented. Then the degree to which inter-racial contact and perceptions of friends' racial attitudes influence the bivariate relationship will be investigated.

In Chapter 5 the relative influence of three potential sources of attitudinal cues is considered. The predictive powers of perceived racial attitudes of parents, peers, and community for respondent racial attitudes are dealt with in this chapter. Material will be presented to show how maturation is related to the relative influence of the different variables.

Measures of Anomie and self-esteem are the independent variables analyzed in Chapter 6. The measures used will be described and then correlated with respondents' racial attitudes. Later controls for the amount of interracial contact will be imposed.

In the last chapter, the relative importance of the variables analyzed in previous chapters will be determined through multiple step-wise regression. Analyses will be conducted for the entire sample and several subsets to determine whether the predictive powers of independent variables remain constant for various groups.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the techniques used to elicit compliance from Georgia school districts, see Bullock and Rodgers (1975: 650-652).

CHAPTER 2

Interacial Contact

Proponents of desegregation have hoped that when black and white students interact, they will learn more about members of the other race, and this knowledge will lead to more positive attitudes about the other race. These notions, which are comparable to those underlying cultural exchange programs, assume that as people learn about different ethnic or racial groups, they come to evaluate them as individuals rather than simply applying stereotypic images.

While noting that interracial contact may have positive consequences in terms of correcting stereotypic thinking and promoting racial tolerance, theorists are quick to point out that not all contact will reduce racial or ethnic hostility. Thomas Pettigrew (1971) observes that

> Increasing interaction, whether of groups or individuals, intensifies and magnifies processes already underway. Hence, more interracial contact can lead either to greater prejudice and rejection or to greater respect and acceptance, depending upon the situation in which it occurs (p. 275).

Gordon Allport (1958: 267) postulated four conditions which enhance the likelihood that interracial contact will reduce prejudice. If black and white children are to emerge from desegregated classrooms displaying less bias, it is important that the two races be of approximately equal status. Racial hostility should be ameliorated if the races are mutually interdependent and if they seek common goals. Conversely, if blacks and whites are thrown into a competitive situation, underlying racial antagonisms may be brought to the fore. Finally contact across racial lines is more likely to promote understanding if the contact is supported by the authorities. Thus school desegregation is more likely to lead to greater black-white understanding if school officials show that they approve of the process and try to carry it off smoothly.

The research conducted here, like most other studies of the effects of desegregation, cannot determine with precision whether any or all of the conditions associated with positive attitude change existed in the schools surveyed. Therefore it is impossible to know whether to expect that behavioral differences of school officials in their treatment of black and white students may have caused variations in student racial attitudes. Within schools, however, there are conditions, the presence or absence of which can be determined, and which may therefore help account for differences in racial attitudes.

A number of investigations of white attitudes toward blacks report that whites who have interacted with blacks are less racially intolerant. White attitudes favorable toward blacks and a greater willingness to interact with blacks have been found among whites who served in the armed forces with blacks (Stouffer, 1949: Chapter 10), sailed in the merchant marine with blacks (Brophy, 1945: 456-466), and lived near blacks in public housing projects (Jahoda and West, 1951: 132-139; Deutsch and Collins, 1951: Wilner, Walkley, and Cook, 1955: 95; Works, 1961: 47-52).

There have also been a number of studies which have found that whites who went to school with blacks are less likely to express hostility toward blacks. For example, whites who attended desegregated schools displayed greater willingness to live in desegregated neighborhoods, have their children attend desegregated schools, and to have black friends than did whites who had attended segregated schools (Racial Isolation, 1967: 112). Both black and white primary school youngsters in an eastern desegregated school showed greater willingness to interact with children of the other race than did youngsters in segregated schools (Koslin _et al_., 1969: 383).

Although some research has found that simply attending desegregated schools contributes to more positive white attitudes, others indicate that more extensive contact is necessary. An early study of southern desegregation notes that although whites who had frequent classes with blacks were not more tolerant, whites who reported having black friends were less prejudiced than were whites without black friends (Campbell, 1958: 338-339). White adults with black friends also show less prejudice (Noel and Pinkney, 1964: 617).

Surveys done before and after desegregation of a San Francisco Bay area junior high school reported that whites who experienced desegregation were significantly less accepting of blacks than were whites who remained at an all-white school (Webster, 1961: 292-296). Indeed whites in the desegregated school became more prejudiced after desegregation. However students in the desegregated school who reported cross-race friendships did display significantly greater social acceptance of the other race. Blacks became more accepting of whites during the desegregated experience.

A study of elementary children in a northern city found that whites attending desegregated schools displayed less acceptance of blacks on a Bogardus social distance scale than did whites in segregated schools (Dentler and Elkins, 1967: 71). This study did not compare racial attitudes after controlling for the presence or absence of black friends. The authors suggest that the whites in desegregated schools may have been more hostile toward blacks because these schools served a transitional neighborhood which was rapidly changing from white to black.

In two small samples of white fifth graders in a New York City suburb, those in a desegregated school displayed less social distance between themselves and blacks than did segregated whites (Singer, 1967: 103). There were no significant differences, however, between the segregated and desegregated in terms of racial attitudes or cultural stereotypes. Data on a segregated and a desegregated sample of black youngsters, also reported by Singer, found that the former showed less social distance from other groups than did the latter (pp. 107-108).

Another study which surveyed fifth graders revealed that there was a decline in white stereotypes of blacks as being different and inferior (Chesler et al., 1968: 4). However, the authors concluded that, "With few exceptions the white youngsters ended the school year with the same attitudes toward Negroes that they had at the beginning" (p. 4).

Lombardi's (1959: 129-136) re-test of white Maryland high school students who had completed six months in a high school with 15 blacks found no significant attitude changes. Even after controlling for contact with the black students, there was no indication that desegregation led to more positive white racial attitudes.

More recent research on a set of white, Boston suburban sophomores found that students who had attended classes with blacks were more negative about the busing program which brought blacks to their schools than were whites who had not had contact with blacks (Useem, 1972: 15). This relationship, however, disappeared in a multiple regression analysis. While classroom contact seemingly had little impact on racial attitudes, there was a slight indication that interracial contact in school activities did lead to more positive attitudes.

A longitudinal study of black Bostonians found that after two years of desegregation, the desegregated students favored non-white schools more than did the control group which had remained segregated (Armor, 1972: 102-103). The desegregated blacks also scored higher on a scale to measure support for racial separation.

Measuring Inter-Racial Contact

The research project reported on here made a more extensive effort to measure the types and extent of interracial contact than have other studies. Much of the previous research has simply compared attitudes of segregated and desegregated students. While the latter certainly have greater opportunities for contact with members of the other race, it is often possible for students in large desegregated schools to actually have little interaction across racial lines. Students may pass members of the other race in the hall and not speak to them. Students may sit with others of their own race in classes, on school buses, and in the cafeteria. Therefore, desegregated schools facilitate biracial contact, but do not assure it.

In an effort to more clearly isolate the effects of racial contact on tolerance, several measures of biracial interaction were included in the survey instrument. A series of questions asked respondents how much contact they had with members of the other race in ten different contexts. The respones were coded as "none," "some," and "a lot." Tables 5, 6, and 7 show the distribution of responses for the total sample and for the white and black students.

Data for the entire sample -- presented in Table 5 -- reveal the absence of a single pattern appropriate for all ten activities. For five activities, students who had had the most contact tended to be most tolerant. However, for the five other activities, the highest mean tolerance was for students in the intermediate contact categories.

(Table 5 goes here)

A clearer pattern is visible for whites in Table 6. For all but two activities (in church and at home) whites having the most contact with blacks are the most tolerant and for seven of the ten activities whites having some inter-racial contact are more tolerant than are those who have had no contact. The means for blacks (see Table 7), like those for the total sample show no pattern, with the ordering

TABLE 5

Mean Racial Attitudes Controlling for Type and Amount of Interracial Contact

	Amount of Interracial Contact		
	None	Some	A Lot
In classrooms	-18.4 (1717)	-22.9 (2877)	31.7 (963)
On school bus	-11.1 (4227)	-17.5 (977)	-6.5 (281)
In athletics	-15.9 (2659)	-19.2 (1846)	10.2 (1013)
In cafeteria	-25.5 (2835)	2.9 (1974)	1.1 (716)
At school dances & parties	-22.3 (3605)	8.4 (1504)	1.2 (402)
In band, chorus, or other musical activities	-13.9 (3736)	-17.6 (1239)	9.5 (547)
In school clubs or organizations	-21.0 (3016)	-8.8 (1895)	22.8 (621)
In church activities	-14.9 (4480)	1.9 (795)	-2.8 (269)
At home	-17.7 (4228)	16.5 (949)	-12.2 (306)
In other peoples' homes	-21.4 (3779)	14.3 (1411)	-7.5 (242)

changing from activity to activity.

(Tables 6 and 7 go here)

When the responses to the ten racial contact questions were factor analyzed, two factors emerged. As reported in Table 8, the seven items focusing on contact in the school load most strongly on one factor. The three items dealing with contact in contexts other than school activities load most heavily on the second factor. The first factor will be referred to as the "School Contact factor" and the second will be designated as the "Outside Contact Factor."

(Table 8 goes here)

In addition to the two contact measures discussed, a third measure of cross-racial interaction focuses on friendships with members of the other race. This measure indicates what proportion of the respondents' "close friends" are of the same race as the respondent. By subtracting this figure from 100 percent, we can determine the share of one's close friends who are of the other race. On average, 12.5 percent of the respondents' close friends were of the opposite race. The mean rises to 15.5 percent if we consider only students in desegregated schools. Blacks are somewhat more likely to have white friends than vice-versa. The average for all blacks was 16.4 percent white friends while whites averaged 9.6 percent black friends. Considering only students in desegregated schools, the mean for both races increases slightly, to 18.9 percent white friends for blacks and 12.8 percent black friends among whites.

Findings

The measures of inter-racial contact were generally significantly correlated with student racial tolerance. The upper half of Table 9 presents correlations (Pearson's r) for the full set of blacks, whites, and total. When segregated and desegregated students are lumped together, eight of the nine correlations are significant at the .001 level. (The exception is when outside contact is

TABLE 6

Mean White Racial Attitudes Controlling for Type and Amount of Inter-racial Contact

Activity	Amount of Contact		
	None	Some	A Lot
In classrooms	-11.0 (1193)	-32.1 (1565)	40.7 (527)
On school bus	-13.0 (2668)	-16.5 (485)	4.9 (112)
In athletics	-13.9 (1702)	-24.7 (1030)	12.9 (541)
In cafeteria	-29.8 (1789)	6.7 (1137)	11.7 (349)
At school dances & parties	-28.9 (2163)	18.3 (931)	18.7 (174)
In band, chorus, or other musical activities	-16.4 (2466)	-12.3 (567)	18.8 (235)
In school clubs or organizations	-22.2 (1981)	-9.8 (1017)	44.0 (279)
In church activities	-18.5 (2787)	19.6 (415)	9.2 (77)
At home	-21.0 (2722)	32.1 (474)	11.0 (80)
In other peoples' homes	-26.4 (2465)	29.7 (733)	33.7 (64)

TABLE 7

Mean Black Racial Attitudes Controlling for Type and Amount of Interracial Contact

Activity	Amount of Interracial Contact None	 Some	 A Lot
In classrooms	-34.9 (518)	-11.6 (1305)	20.5 (434)
On school bus	-7.6 (1548)	-18.5 (508)	-14.0 (169)
In athletics	-19.1 (952)	-12.2 (810)	7.4 (468)
In cafeteria	-17.8 (1037)	-2.2 (833)	-9.2 (365)
At school dances & parties	-12.2 (1430)	-7.5 (572)	-11.4 (226)
In band, chorus, or other musical activities	-8.6 (1260)	-22.0 (667)	2.5 (312)
In school clubs or organizations	-18.3 (1025)	-7.5 (873)	5.5 (342)
In church activities	-[illegible].6 (1681)	-17.4 (377)	-11.9 (192)
In other peoples' homes	-11.9 (1304)	-2.2 (675)	-21.9 (177)
At home	-11.6 (1493)	1.1 (474)	-20.4 (226)

TABLE 8

Factor Loadings for Types of Interracial Contact

	School	Outside
Classrooms	.58885	.26432
School bus	.70718	.20151
Athletics	.76652	.11650
Cafeteria	.66538	.27648
School dances and parties	.70668	.28976
School musical activities	.80952	.14843
School clubs & organizations	.74568	.23723
Church	.45240	.63665
Home	.20861	.89074
Other's home	.18912	.88092

correlated with black attitudes.) The direction of the signs on the eight statistically significant coefficients support the proposition that interracial contact promotes tolerance.

(Table 9 goes here)

Biracial friendship is the strongest correlate of black attitudes and outside contact is the strongest correlate of white attitudes. While the correlation coefficients of biracial friendships and racial attitudes are almost identical for blacks and whites, the two contact measures correlate more strongly with white than black attidues. The disparity is especially great for the outside contact variable which correlates with white attitudes at r = .21 while the Pearson r for the black subset shows the complete absence of a relationship.

If only students attending desegregated schools are considered,[1] the bottom half of Table 9 shows that for the white subsample and the total sample, relationships are much stronger. The most marked change occurs for whites using the school contact measure. The correlation for all whites was r = .17 but when only desegregated whites are considered, r rises to .37. Very little change occurs when we shift from the full sample of blacks to the desegregated component.

The data in Table 9 indicate that inter-racial contact is a substantially stronger correlate of racial attitudes among whites than blacks. Moreover, among students who are more likely to have had cross-racial experiences, i.e. those in desegregated schools, contact across racial lines is a particularly strong correlate of tolerance.

TABLE 9

Correlations Between Inter-Racial Contact and Racial Tolerance

	Black	White	Total
School Contact	.10** (2195)	.17** (3276)	.14** (5471)
Outside Contact	.00 (2195)	.21** (3276)	.11** (5471)
Friends in the Other Race	.15** (1672)	.16** (2934)	.15** (4606)
Desegregated Sample Only			
School Contact	.11** (1606)	.37** (2035)	.27** (3641)
Outside Contact	-.03 (1606)	.26** (2035)	.13** (3641)
Friends in the Other Race	.17** (1241)	.26** (1804)	.23** (3052)

** Significant at .001.

Summary

In this chapter the three measures of interracial contact used in this reported are presented. Earlier works are briefly discussed in order to obtain an indication of how we should expect contact to be associated with racial tolerance.

Some racial differences were apparent. Among whites there is fairly clear and rather convincing evidence that having contact with blacks, especially contact at school, is associated with racial tolerance. The relationships are particularly strong when only students attending desegregated school are analyzed. For blacks the impact of contact with whites is less consistent and less convincing. The correlation analysis does suggest however that contact does have a positive effect on attitudes.

Notes

1. Segregated schools in this report are those having at least 99 percent of their students of one race. All other schools are considered to be desegregated. The percent black in the desegregated schools ranged from 8 to 80 percent.

CHAPTER 3

Respondents' Background Characteristics

This chapter focuses on 11 charactertistics of the respondents and the relationships of these variables to racial tolerance. The variables selected include most of the items typically used in this kind of study, for example, age, race, sex, socioeconomic status, and so forth.

Preceding the analysis of the Georgia data is a literature review. The findings of others who have studied the relationships of similar variables will be concisely presented. From the research of others, hypotheses stating the anticipated relationships between the independent and dependent variables will be derived. Frequently, however, different studies have come to opposite conclusions concerning the effect of an individual variable. Where this occurs the null hypothesis will be tested. A .05 significance level is used in evaluating hypotheses.

Sex. A number of studies have found sex of the respondent to be associated with racial attitudes; however, there is no consistency on whether males or females are more accepting of members of the other race. A study of seven newly desegregated, predominantly white Missouri districts concluded that boys adjusted more readily than girls (Dwyer, 1958: 254). Gottlieb and Ten Houten's research (1965: 210) in three high schools in a large midwestern city found that in both races males more often named members of the other race among their friends than did females. Noel and Pinckney (1964: 613-614) found that female adults of both races were more prejudiced than males.

Other scholars have reached the opposite conclusion, i.e. that females display less prejudice than males. A study of elementary school children in a northern city found that girls showed less rejection of other races on a Bogardus Social Distance scale than did boys (Dentler and Elkins, 1967: 67). A replication of a 1955 survey of racial attitudes among white University of Texas students found that by 1958 coeds had become more tolerant while males had become somewhat less tolerant (Young et al., 1960: 132). Useem's research (1972: 8) on white high school sophomores concluded that males demonstrated greater racial hostility than did females.

Some research on blacks reports that females adapt less easily to desegregation than do males. Following desegregation, black females are more likely to withdraw unto themselves than are black males (Campbell and Yarrow, 1958: 29-46; Criswell, 1937: 81-89; Gordon, 1967). Silverman and Shaw (1973: 136-140) found somewhat similar results in their longitudinal study of a desegregated junior high school and high school in Gainesville, Florida. Although differences were not statistically significant, white females and black males tended to be more positive about desegregation than were white males and black females. Similar results are reported for suburban Boston schools to which inner-city blacks were bused (Armor, 1973: 108).

Findings that black females often react negatively to desegregation are usually attributed to fear that black males will be attracted to white females since white standards for beauty are widely accepted by both races. Failure to adjust to desegregation among white males is often attributed to jealousy over black physical prowess.

Finally several studies have not found sex to be significantly related to racial attitudes. In this group is Lombardi's study (1963: 136) of a newly desegregated Maryland school. Bartel et al.'s study (1973: 164) of primary children found that differences in sex had only negligible effect. Research by Shaw (1973: 145) using Florida elementary students and by Fiddmont and Levine (1969: 129) using black high school students in Kansas City, Missouri, also found that boys and girls had similar racial attitudes.

Race. Research has generally found that whites express less preference for interaction with blacks than blacks do for interaction with whites. In a study of two senior classes in Huntington, West Virginia, Mastroianni and Khatena (1972: 224) found that 96 percent of the whites wanted their close friends to be of their race but only 14 percent of the blacks wanted close friends to be of their race. Among children in kindergarten through the fourth grade, Bartel et al. (1973: 165) report that although children of both races tended to display negative attitudes toward blacks, this proclivity was more pronounced among whites. Research on first and second graders in an eastern city reported that white children showed a preference for white teachers and friends while black children indicated equal acceptance of both races (Koslin et al., 1969: 383).

Noel and Pinkney's analysis (1964: 610) of data collected between 1948 and 1952 for the Cornell study of intergroup relations found that only 5 percent of the whites gave no responses indicating prejudice against blacks while 48 percent of the whites rejected all types of contact with blacks. Among the black portion of the four-city sample, 41 percent revealed no prejudice toward whites and only 17 percent rejected all forms of interracial contact. A more recent analysis of a national adult sample classified 33 percent of the whites but only five percent of the blacks as being highly prejudiced (Geyer, 1973:29). Among college students

Provenza and Strickland (1965:277) found that black responses were more favorable toward whites on a sematic differential scale than were whites' evaluations of blacks.

Longitudinal studies of the consequences of desegregation on racial attitudes report that the impact varies by race. A study of three sets of sophomores in South Carolina found that black tolerance of whites increased after desegregation but whites became more hostile (McWhirt, 1967). Although the Silverman and Shaw (1973:137-140) study of Gainesville, Florida, students found no significant differences between blacks' and whites' attitudes toward the opposite race, they did see a trend. At the time of their first survey, blacks were more prejudiced than whites but two months later the pattern had reversed.

Socioeconomic Status. Research is almost unanimous in finding that lower status whites are less tolerant of blacks than are higher status whites. Tumin's (1958) study of the attitudes toward desegregation among white males in Guilford County, North Carolina, found hard core racists much less common among those who had white collar jobs. Tumin concluded that, "The higher the income, the more ready for desegregation without exception" (1958:260). Other surveys of adults support the conclusion that lower status whites are more prejudiced than higher status whites (Geyer, 1973:30-31; Noel and Pinkney, 1964:611).

Using aggregate data, Matthews and Prothro (1966:343) and Bullock and Rodgers (1976) have found that school desegregation has been implemented more readily where family income is relatively high. The greater prejudice among poor whites is probably caused by their feeling more threatened by desegregation (St. John, 1972:11). Low status whites may have little with which to differentiate themselves from blacks other than the rights and privileges accorded their race but denied blacks. School desegregation and other changes which undermine the myth of white superiority might leave lower status whites on a par with blacks. Thus lower income whites are more likely to experience a sense of relative deprivation when blacks' conditions improve.

Studies of students' racial attitudes typically support the general finding that high socioeconomic status is associated with lower racial prejudice. Useem's (1972:10) paper on northern suburban whites in schools having token black enrollments reports that whites whose fathers have blue-collar jobs are less tolerant than are the children of white collar fathers. Research on preschoolers in Boston (Porter, 1971) also finds that higher status white children show less prejudice. Third through sixth graders also showed less evidence of anti-black stereotyping among higher status whites (Dentler and Elkins, 1967:71).

On the basis of an extensive literature review Ehrlich (1973) concludes that people of high status less often voice negative racial stereotypes and more often embrace positive sterotypes than do low status people. He tempers this observation however; "To assert, then, that increases in socioeconomic status have any major effect on levels of prejudice is a serious over-statement" (p. 78).

Three studies have not found high socioeconomic status to be related to racial tolerance. Lombardi's (1963:132) study of a Maryland high school with a token black enrollment found that higher status whites were no more likely to form more positive attitudes toward blacks following desegregation than were lower status whites. Armor (1972:108) reports an absence of statistically significant differences in racial attitudes between blue-collar and white-collar black children in Boston. Standing alone is a study of University of Texas college students which discovered that parental income was inversely related to racial tolerance (Young et al., 1960:133).

Academic Achievement. Students who excel in school generally display greater racial tolerance than do less successful students (St. John, 1972:11). This finding emerges for a wide age range of students. Dentler and Elkins (1967:61-77) report that among youngsters in grades three through six in a northern city, IQ and reading ability were weakly, albeit statistically significantly, associated with racial tolerance. In her study of white high school sophomores, Useem (1972:13) had access to school records on achievement. She found a statistically significant relationship between ability and racial tolerance which persisted even after controlling for socioeconomic status. In a small sample of fifth graders in the New York City suburbs, Singer (1967:111-115) discovered that high IQ whites in unsegregated schools had more favorable attitudes than did pupils with low IQ's. No differences were evident in the segregated school, leading Singer to speculate that, "Where there is contact with Negroes, IQ plays the role of a 'sensitizer' and so, generally speaking, the higher the IQ, the more differentiated the response" (p. 111). In a second test of racial tolerance, using the same students, IQ was not related to racial stereotyping in either the segregated or desegregated school.

The Young et al. (1960:132) study of college students also found that academic performance was associated with racial tolerance. Students with grade point averages of A or B were more tolerant than those with lower grades.

Ehrlich (1972:139) suggests that "high levels of intellectual ability retard the acquisition of ethnic prejudice." Perhaps poor students, like lower status people, feel more threatened by blacks. In a desegregated school whites who do poorly may use blacks as scapegoats, ascribing their own lack of success to the special treatment which they believe teachers accord black pupils.

One piece of research goes against the stream. In a study of San Francisco area fifth graders a measure of achievement was constructed by averaging students' reading and mathematics achievement scores. Among lower class children in all-white school, Tabachnick (1962:200-201) finds no correlation between achievement and prejudice.

Urbanization. Because research on students' racial attitudes has typically been limited to single communities or to schools in a single metropolitan area, there is little cross-sectional data on the relative degree of prejudice shown by children in rural areas and in urban centers. There are, however, studies using older subjects which use the size of the community from which the respondent comes or in which he lives as an independent variable.

Generally it has been found that people from smaller communities display greater prejudice than do people from metropolitan areas. The study of University of Texas students (Young et al., 1960:132) reported that students from cities with at least 50,000 residents were more tolerant than were their peers from less populous areas. Tumin's (1958:260) analysis of racial attitudes of white males in one North Carolina county found a larger proportion of hard core racists among the rural component of his sample.

An analysis of a national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (Geyer, 1973:35) also uncovered an urban-rural difference. In this 1972 sample, rural adults were more prejudiced than were urban ones. When Geyer controlled for the amount of education of the respondents, the relationship between size of hometown and prejudice persisted for people with less than a high school education. Among the better educated, the urban-rural difference disappeared.

Religion. Studies which have used religion as an independent variable have not found it to be related to prejudice. Tumin (1958) reports that in Guilford, North Carolina, "we find that religious affiliation is thoroughly non-discriminating. None of the groups (groups defined on the basis of scores on a prejudice scale) differs significantly from any other in its percentages of Baptists or of Methodists (the two most numerous)" (p. 259). Looking only at Protestant groups, Lombardi (1963) finds no significant differences in racial attitude change when religion is used in his study of high school students. Nor does Useem (1972:9) find religious preference to be a useful discriminating variable for northern white tenth graders. Useem, however, does not distinguish by types of Protestant belief, breaking her sample down only into Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and other.

The size of the sample in the present research will permit investigation of the racial attitudes of a greater number of religious groups than others have examined. More precise differentiation may lead to evidence that religious affiliation does make a difference.

Age. Because attitudes tend to harden with age, it is usually recommended that desegregation begin with the very young (St. John, 1975). Thus one finding is that white racial hostility becomes increasingly frequent among older students (Campbell and Yarrow, 1958:29-46). For example, Radke and Sutherland (1949) found that among seventh and eighth graders the ratio of mentions of negative to positive stereotypes concerning blacks was one to five. Among ninth and tenth graders the ratio dropped to one in four and among junior and seniors fully one-third of the racial stereotypes were critical of blacks.

The research by Bartel et al., (1973) on younger children -- kindergarten through fourth grade -- found the same pattern of declining racial tolerance among older students. "Thus, regarding positive social questions (i.e. questions asking students who they would like to play on a team with), these children revealed an almost total racial polarization by the fourth grade, with black children nominating almost only black children and white children nominating almost only white children" (p. 171).

A study of fourth through sixth graders found that there was more contact across racial lines among younger students (Shaw, 1973:153). Younger blacks were also somewhat more likely to express preferences for whites as classmates than were older blacks. Armor (1972:109) found that younger students supported a Boston busing program to achieve desegregation more than did older students. He also reports data from Riverdale, California, showing that as students mature, they make fewer cross-racial friendship choices. The patterning of white preferences for and against blacks as fellow classmates was, however, not monotonically associated with age.

Dwyer's (1958:253) study of seven rural Missouri districts reports findings suggesting that prejudice may not increase beyond elementary school. Thus in his survey, elementary students accepted desegregation more readily than did older students. However, there was no difference in the attitudes of respondents aged 13 through 18.

Research on students in grades seven through twelve also fails to find prejudice increasing with age (Silverman and Shaw, 1973:138). In this sample of Gainesville, Florida, students, prejudice increased among whites from grades seven through nine, then dropped continuously during the remaining years. The pattern for blacks was more complex, peaking at grade eight, dropping the next year, rising again in grade ten, and then declining during the next two years.

Work by Dentler and Elkins (1967:65) found that sixth graders were more willing than third graders to accept blacks as neighbors, club members, best friends, and dinner guests. In summary, the relationship between age and prejudice varies among studies.

Parents' Education. Very little research has been done which explores the relationship between the level of education attained by students' parents and the students' racial attitudes. In his Maryland study, Lombardi found mothers' education, but not fathers' education, to be associated with student tolerance. He reports that among whites, students whose mothers had less than a high school education became more prejudiced after desegregation while those whose mothers had gone to college became more tolerant (1963:132). Desegregation seemed to have no effect on the attitudes of the children of mothers who were high school graduates.

Student's Education Plans. Although the topic has been largely ignored by others, the relationship between the student's plans for further education and racial attitudes are investigated here. It may be that education aspirations have no independent influence on tolerance. Such would be the situation if education aspirations covary with parents' education or family socioeconomic characteristics.

On the other hand, education plans may tap an independent correlate of tolerance. If so, we might anticipate that the effect of educational aspirations on tolerance may be similar to the effect of educational achievement among adults. Tumin, Barton, and Burrus (1958:46), Geyer (1973:30), and Noel and Pinkney (1964:610-611) report that in the samples of adults which they analyzed, the greater the amount of education, the more tolerant the respondent.

Proportion black. Numerous studies have found that whites display less prejudice and are more willing to tolerate the acquisition of equal rights by blacks when the black population is relatively small (Matthews and Prothro, 1964 and 1966; Dye, 1968:141-165; Stephen, 1955:133-135; Bullock and Rodgers, 1976). These findings suggest that white students might display less prejudice in schools having small black enrollments.

Research on the size of the black enrollment in a desegregated school suggests that black adaptation to desegregation does not increase monotonically as percent black in the school rises. On the basis of research on students in grades three through six, Koslin et al. (n.d.:9-10) conclude that 15 percent black is an important threshold. Black males in classes less than 15 percent black displayed greater social distance from whites and less preference for desegregated schools than did blacks in classes with larger black components. Increasing the proportion black beyond 15 percent, however, neither made black attitudes toward whites more positive nor was it associated with heightened white racial hostility.

A study of black juniors and seniors in a New England school district explored the impact of attending elementary and junior high schools having various racial compositions on the frequency with which blacks selected whites for four types of interaction (St. John, 1964:339). The author found that although blacks who had more experience going to school with whites were somewhat more likely to choose whites as fellow participants, the frequency was not statistically significant. Further investigation showed that blacks who had gone to schools with more whites differed from other blacks only in the frequency with which they named whites as lunch companions. No differences existed in the frequency with which whites were named as leaders, work partners, or weekend companions.

Hypotheses

The literature review indicates a substantial amount of conflict over the consequences of school desegregation for racial attitudes. For example, studies can be cited which show that students who have attended desegregated schools display less racial prejudice than do those who have gone to one-race schools. Other researchers have found that the desegregated pupils are more prejudiced, and still other scholars have found an absence of differences. Similar variation exists for several of the other variables which have been discussed.

Because of the inconsistencies in the results reported by others, the hypotheses to be tested are often stated in their null form. If the literature has been fairly consistent in finding results in a single direction, then the hypothesis to be tested will specify direction.

H1: There will be no difference in the racial attitudes of segregated and desegregated students.

H2: Blacks will have more positive interracial attitudes than whites.

H3: There are no significant differences in the racial attitudes of males and females.

If, however, we control for race, the literature suggests that sexual differences may emerge.

H3A: Among blacks, males will display more positive racial attitudes than females.

H3B: Among whites, females will display more positive racial attitudes than males.

H4: Lower status whites will be more prejudiced than higher status whites.

H5: Students who do well in school will be more racially tolerant than will students who do poorly.

H6: Urban students will be less prejudiced than will rural students.

H7: There will be no significant differences between students of different religions.

H8: Among junior high and high school students, racial tolerance will not be associated with age.

H9A: Students having well-educated mothers will display greater racial tolerance than will students whose mothers are less well-educated.

H9B: Fathers' levels of education will not be associated with students' racial attitudes.

H10: Students planning to obtain more education will be more tolerant than students who intend to get little education.

H11A: The higher the proportion black in the school, the more negative will be white racial attitudes.

H11B: Black attitudes toward whites will not be related to the proportion white in the school.

Desegregation and Racial Attitudes

In this section the mean values on the racial attitudes scale are compared for students in segregated and desegregated schools. Segregated schools are those in which at least 99 percent of the students are of one race. All other schools are desegregated and have between eight and 80 percent black enrollments. After controlling for the presence of desegregation, racial attitudes of a number of types of students were inspected.

In evaluating hypotheses, t tests were computed on the means. A probability of .05 is set for determining the significance of the differences in means. The hypotheses indicate whether a one or two-tail test of significance is appropriate. One-tail tests were used when hypotheses specified an anticipated difference between groups.

Desegregation. Data reported in Table 10 show that hypothesis 1 must be rejected. Students in segregated schools were significantly less prejudiced than were those in desegregated schools. The next step is to control for race to determine whether the differences in the segregated and desegregated students are attributable to the attitudes of one race or the other. The differences in the attitudes of whites parallel those for the entire sample. Whites attending desegregated schools were substantially less tolerant than were students in all-white schools. In the black sample, students in desegregated schools were significantly more tolerant than were students in all-black schools.

(Table 10 goes here)

Race. Evidence appropriate for testing hypothesis 2 is also presented in Table 10. As hypothesized, among desegregated students, blacks were more tolerant than whites. However, in the segregated sample whites were much more tolerant than blacks. Surprisingly, segregated whites proved to be the most tolerant group of the four.

Sex. Hypothesis 3 predicts no differences in the racial attitudes of males and females. Data presented in Table 11 show that the null hypothesis must be rejected since in both the segregated and desegregated schools females displayed greater racial tolerance than males. Hypothesis 3A is also not supported by the data. Contrary to expectations black males were not significantly less prejudiced than females.

(Table 11 goes here)

The expected pattern was found, however, for whites. As postulated in hypothesis 3B, white females were much more tolerant than males. This finding held for both segregated and desegregated students.

TABLE 10

Mean Racial Tolerance Scores
Controlling for Race and Segregation/Desegregation

	Black	White	Total
Segregated	-18.3	8.0	-0.6
N =	620	1268	1888
Desegregated	-6.4	-25.3	-16.7
N =	1755	2076	3831

Interpretation: Segregated students were significantly more tolerant both in the total sample and the white subset. Segregated whites were significantly more tolerant than segregated blacks. Desegregated blacks were significantly more tolerant than desegregated whites. Desegregated blacks were significantly more tolerant than segregated blacks.

TABLE 11

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR SEX, RACE AND SEGREGATION/DESEGREGATION

	Female	(N)	Male	(N)
Desegregated				
Black	-3.0	(928)	-8.4	(807)
White	-1.2	(991)	-47.3	(1085)
Total	-2.1	(1919)	-30.7	(1892)
Segregated				
Black	-10.0	(306)	-25.6	(309)
White	24.8	(657)	-10.6	(607)
Total	13.7	(963)	-15.7	(916)

Interpretation: Females were significantly more tolerant in both white subsamples, among segregated blacks, and in the total sample in both segregated and desegregated schools.

Socioeconomic status. Two measures of socioeconomic status are used. The first is the family social status as perceived by the respondent. The options were upper, middle, working, and lower class. As shown in Table 12, prejudice does not increase consistently as we move from upper to lower class whites. For both segregated and desegregated whites the most tolerant responses came from middle class students. In the desegregated sample, the least tolerant whites were ones who believed that their family was upper class. The mean for lower class whites was somewhat less than that for working class whites. Among segregated students, lower class respondents were the most prejudiced, as had been expected, but the results are somewhat suspect because of the small number of observations. In sum, hypothesis 4 is not supported by these data.

Although no relationship was hypothesized between status and prejudice among blacks, the results deserve some mention. In both the segregated and desegregated sets, upper class blacks were the least tolerant. For those attending segregated schools there was little difference in the mean racial attitudes for the other three status groups. In the desegregated sample, working class blacks were the most tolerant.

(Table 12 goes here)

The second measure used for socioeconomic status is the occupation of the respondent's father. Responses were coded into the categories used by the United States Bureau of the Census. Data in Table 13 show some support for hypothesis 4. Among the segregated and the desegregated, the means on the racial attitude scale were higher for the children of white

TABLE 12

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR PERCEIVED FAMILY SOCIAL STATUS, RACE, AND SEGREGATION/DESEGREGATION

	Perceived Class			
	Upper	Middle	Working	Lower
Desegregated				
Black	-36.7 (81)	-6.1 (742)	-0.9 (778)	-19.7 (90)
White	-57.6 (95)	-19.0 (1482)	-38.1 (440)	-30.7 (15)
Total	-47.9 (176)	-14.7 (2237)	-14.4 (1218)	-21.3 (105)
Segregated				
Black	-68.8 (22)	-16.2 (250)	-17.9 (303)	-14.8 (24)
White	-12.5 (60)	16.9 (942)	-19.3 (245)	-78.1 (11)
Total	-27.6 (82)	9.9 (1192)	-18.5 (548)	-34.7 (35)

Interpretation: Students who perceive their families as being upper class are not significantly more tolerant.

collar workers than for others. Upon closer inspection we find, however, that within the white collar ranks, the relationships are not monotonic. Thus for neither set of whites is the progression from most to least tolerant in this order: children of professionals, managers, clerical, sales. Among blue collar occupations, a monotonic relationship between status and tolerance emerged among segregated but not among desegregated students.

(Table 13 goes here)

Among blacks there is not even a consistent pattern for children of white and blue collar fathers. Among those in all-black schools, the mean on the racial attitude scale for children of white collar workers tended to lie close to the mean for all black children in segregated schools.

Academic Achievement. The hypothesis that academic achievement would be positively related to racial tolerance is borne out for whites but not blacks. In Table 14 are data showing that for both sets of whites, students with A averages were the most tolerant while those with averages of D or F were the least tolerant of blacks. Although differences between the attitudes of grade groups were not always statistically significant, the pattern is quite clear and in the expected direction. The better white students, i.e., those with A or B averages, were significantly more tolerant than were students having poorer grades. No pattern emerged among black pupils.

(Table 14 goes here)

Urbanization. Results generally support hypothesis 6 which stated that urban students would be less prejudiced than rural students. Greater racial

TABLE 13

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR FATHER'S OCCUPATION, RACE, AND SEGREGATED/DESEGREGATED

	Occupation								
	Professionals	Managers	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen	Operatives	Farmers	Laborers	Service
Desegregated									
Black	29.4	10.1	-8.1	-44.7	3.6	-10.0	a	-8.0	-3.2
	(39)	(51)	(30)	(14)	(223)	(366)		(226)	(55)
White	-0.1	-9.7	1.1	-8.7	-28.1	-56.0	-83.6	-32.7	-39.1
	(236)	(350)	(103)	(148)	(415)	(366)	(76)	(53)	(44)
Total	3.4	-7.2	-1.0	-11.8	-17.0	-33.0	-33.0	-12.7	-19.1
	(275)	(405)	(133)	(162)	(638)	(732)	(82)	(279)	(99)
Segregated									
Black	-15.3	-10.3	a	a	-25.8	-11.6	a	5.4	-8.0
	(41)	(27)			(84)	(108)		(42)	(30)
White	28.3	28.6	-10.4	31.1	-7.6	-13.4	a	-32.3	-3.8
	(140)	(377)	(31)	(118)	(1967)	(217)		(28)	(34)
Total	18.4	26.0	-2.5	29.4	-13.0	-12.8	a	-9.7	-5.7
	(181)	(404)	(40)	(122)	(281)	(325)		(70)	(64)

Interpretation: For segregated and desegregated schools, children of white collar parents are significantly more tolerant than other children in both the white subsets and in the total groups.

a--Insufficient number of cases.

TABLE 14

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR ESTIMATED GRADE AVERAGE, RACE, AND SEGREGATED/DESEGREGATED

	A		B		C		D & F	
Desegregated								
Black	-13.6	(141)	1.1	(752)	[illegible]8.6	(740)	-30.9	(102)
White	-3.8	(258)	-16.7	(1043)	-42.6	(708)	-64.4	(55)
Total	-7.3	(399)	-9.3	(1795)	-25.3	(1448)	-42.7	(157)
Segregated								
Black	-39.5	(46)	-10.1	(274)	-25.6	(281)	21.5	(12)
White	27.9	(156)	14.8	(603)	-6.0	(445)	-16.0	(56)
Total	12.6	(202)	7.0	(877)	-13.6	(726)	-9.4	(68)

Interpretation: Students with better grades were significantly more tolerant than students who do poorly in the following groups: desegregated whites, segregated whites, the total desegregated sample, and the total segregated sample.

tolerance among urban students was found in both the segregated and desegregated samples and for whites within each sample. (See Table 15.) Urban blacks in desegregated schools also demonstrated greater racial tolerance than did their rural peers. Only among segregated blacks were urban students less tolerant than rural ones.

(Table 15 goes here)

Religion. Unlike in other studies, religious preference was associated with racial tolerance in the Georgia schools. As data in Table 16 indicate, among whites, members of Pentecostal churches and Baptists tended to have the lowest scores on the racial tolerance scale. They are followed by Methodists and other Protestants in that order. Catholics and Jews were the most tolerant although the order of these groups is not the same for segregated and desegregated pupils.

(Table 16 goes here)

For both sets of blacks, Catholics indicated the greatest evidence of tolerance and were followed by Methodists. Baptists and other Protestants generally displayed less tolerance of whites. For blacks as well as whites, the differences between the racial attitudes of members of some faiths were not statistically significant. However, in all but one instance the differences between groups at the extremes were significant. (This excludes groups having very small n's, for example Jews.)

Age. The null hypothesis that racial tolerance will not vary with age must be rejected for desegregated students. Results reported in Table 17 show that in

TABLE 15

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR URBAN/RURAL, RACE, AND SEGREGATED/DESEGREGATED

	Urban		Rural	
Desegregated				
Black	9.3	(723)	-17.3	(1031)
White	1.7	(1031)	-51.9	(1045)
Total	4.8	(1754)	-34.7	(2076)
Segregated				
Black	-26.6	(464)	6.4	(156)
White	28.9	(654)	-14.2	(614)
Total	16.6	(1118)	-10.0	(770)

Interpretation: Except for blacks in segregated schools, urban students were significantly more tolerant than were rural pupils.

TABLE 16

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR RELIGION, RACE, AND SEGREGATED/DESEGREGATED

	Religion					
	Baptist	Methodist	AME/ Pentecostal(a)	Other Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
Desegregated						
Black	-6.7 (992)	20.3 (110)	15.5 (125)	1.7 (98)	42.6 (46)	----------
White	-37.4 (988)	-28.3 (252)	-59.4 (104)	4.4 (240)	7.2 (300)	20.3 (23)
Total	-22.0 (1980)	-13.6 (362)	-----------	3.7 (338)	11.9 (346)	----------
Segregated						
Black	-11.5 (374)	0.4 (25)	-64.2 (24)	27.7 (48)	---------	----------
White	-12.1 (612)	9.8 (140)	-36.9 (15)	42.3 (262)	58.4 (112)	24.7 (23)
Total	-11.9 (986)	8.4 (165)	----------	31.4 (310)	56.3 (120)	----------

Interpretation: Except among segregated blacks, Baptists are significantly less tolerant than Catholics and "other Protestants," i.e. the groups which tend to score highest on the tolerance scale.

(a) For blacks this column reports scores of members of the AME church, for whites scores in this column are of members of various Pentecostal faiths.

desegregated schools seniors were significantly more tolerant than eighth graders, with sophomores falling between the two groups, albeit somewhat closer to the seniors.[1] When mean racial attitudes are compared across grades, differences were statistically significant for five of six pairs. The only exception was white sophomores and seniors.

Quite different results were found in the segregated schools. In these schools, for both races, the youngest and oldest students had very similar attitudes. Among blacks, however, sophomores were much less tolerant than were the others while among whites sophomores were somewhat more tolerant.

(Table 17 goes here)

Parents' Education. Data reported in Tables 18 and 19 show that racial tolerance does not increase in step with parental education. It does appear, however, that having some education beyond high school is associated with more tolerant offspring. Except for desegregated blacks, students whose mothers were in the three lower education categories were more prejudiced than were children of mothers in the three higher categories. However, for none of the 12 sets of respondents is tolerance least among the children of the least educated parents and greatest among children of the most educated parents. In terms of mothers' education, students whose mothers have had some college are the most tolerant, except for whites in segregated schools.

(Tables 18 and 19 go here)

TABLE 17

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR GRADE IN SCHOOL (AGE), RACE, AND SEGREGATED/DESEGREGATED

	Grade					
	8th		10th		12th	
Desegregated						
Black	-22.1	(700)	-2.5	(559)	13.2	(465)
White	-42.7	(625)	-19.9	(846)	-11.6	(583)
Total	-31.8	(1325)	-13.0	(1405)	-0.6	(1048)
Segregated						
Black	-7.9	(180)	-31.0	(246)	-7.8	(185)
White	4.0	(506)	12.9	(442)	7.5	(305)
Total	0.8	(686)	-2.8	(688)	1.7	(490)

Interpretation: Among desegregated students, 8th graders were significantly less tolerant than 12th graders for blacks, whites and the total set. In addition, for blacks, whites, and the total set, 8th and 10th graders had significantly different racial attitudes, as did 10th and 12th graders in the black and total desegregated sets. No significant differences were found among the segregated students.

TABLE 18

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR MOTHER'S EDUCATION, RACE, AND SEGREGATION/DESEGREGATION

	Less than High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Graduate Training
Desegregated						
Black	-13.1 (313)	-6.4 (607)	-3.6 (497)	14.0 (93)	7.4 (68)	-21.3 (62)
White	-45.1 (131)	-45.1 (446)	-35.6 (849)	15.2 (313)	5.0 (198)	-5.3 (96)
Total	-22.6 (444)	-22.8(1053)	-23.8 (1346)	14.9 (406)	5.6 (266)	-11.6 (158)
Segregated						
Black	-21.0 (100)	-16.2 (185)	-30.8 (157)	-6.7 (40)	-10.2 (43)	-9.7 (42)
White	-7.3 (160)	-5.5 (205)	5.0 (418)	24.6 (234)	18.2 (148)	26.0 (75)
Total	-12.6 (260)	-10.6 (390)	-4.7 (575)	20.0 (274)	11.8 (191)	13.2 (117)

Interpretation: Mean student tolerance scores do not increase systematically with level of mother's education.

TABLE 19

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR FATHER'S EDUCATION, RACE, AND SEGREGATION/DESEGREGATION

	Less than High School		Some High School		High School Graduate		Some College		College Graduate		Graduate Training	
Desegregated												
Black	-11.7	(446)	-6.3	(468)	-5.7	(378)	24.2	(86)	0.2	(59)	-15.2	(60)
White	-54.8	(223)	-46.4	(376)	-29.2	(613)	-4.9	(344)	-2.0	(293)	-4.8	(155)
Total	-26.0	(669)	-24.2	(844)	-20.2	(991)	0.9	(430)	-1.7	(352)	-7.7	(215)
Segregated												
Black	-7.7	(164)	-34.9	(131)	-23.2	(117)	-20.0	(38)	1.5	(33)	-16.1	(33)
White	-7.1	(223)	-15.9	(171)	0.1	(262)	3.8	(168)	34.2	(286)	40.6	(126)
Total	-7.4	(387)	-24.1	(302)	-7.1	(379)	-0.6	(206)	30.8	(319)	28.9	(159)

Interpretation: Mean student tolerance scores do not increase systematically with level of father's education.

Less of a pattern was found when looking at fathers' education. Desegregated whites and segregated blacks were most tolerant when their fathers were college graduates. The most tolerant desegregated blacks had fathers who had some education beyond high school but had not earned a degree. Segregated whites were the only group in which those having the best educated fathers were the most tolerant. Among whites, but not blacks, education beyond high school seems to be an important threshold on the fathers' education variable.

Students' Education Plans. For all sets of students, the greater the amount of education which the respondent hopes to attain, the more tolerant his/her racial attitudes. Figures in Table 20 reveal some of the greatest extremes reported here. Thus desegregated whites who did not plan to complete high school registered a mean of -101.7 on the tolerance scale, while desegregated whites who hoped to get graduate training scored 3.4.

(Table 20 goes here)

Proportion black. Figures in Table 21 do not support the hypothesis that whites are more hostile toward blacks in schools having larger proportions of black students. Contrary to hypothesis 11A, the mean scores on the racial attitude scale are almost identical for whites in schools having between 8 and 50 and between 61 and 80 percent black enrollments. The most tolerant group was whites in all-white schools while the least tolerant attended schools in which blacks comprised a small majority. Significantly less tolerance among whites in schools which are 51 to 60 percent black may result from jealousy produced by a small black majority

TABLE 20

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR EDUCATION PLANS, RACE, AND SEGREGATION/DESEGREGATION

	Educational Plans				
	Drop-Out	Finish High School	Vo-Tech	College	Graduate Training
Desegregated					
Black	-45.6 (22)	-24.7 (744)	3.1 (288)	8.6 (464)	12.6 (190)
White	-101.7 (41)	-62.2 (539)	-31.4 (245)	-10.6 (895)	3.4 (340)
Total	-82.1 (63)	-40.5(1283)	-12.7 (533)	-4.1(1359)	6.7 (530)
Segregated					
Black	a	-35.7 (171)	-20.5 (123)	-8.2 (199)	-3.5 (102)
White	-62.6 (32)	-16.0 (335)	-6.1 (132)	19.5 (528)	33.3 (229)
Total	a	-22.6 (506)	-13.1 (255)	12.0 (727)	21.9 (331)

Interpretation: For all sets, students who aspire to attain more education display more tolerant attitudes.

consistently winning elections and other decisions decided by balloting. Such jealousy might not arise in schools having larger black enrollments because whites in these schools may have little expectation of controlling elections.

(Table 21 goes here)

Respondents in all-black schools were among the least tolerant, as were blacks in 61 to 70 percent black schools. The other four sets of schools were not significantly different from one another. While there is not a consistent pattern among blacks, the mean racial attitude scores differ too much to support the null hypothesis stated in hypothesis 11B.

Controlling for Interracial Contact

In this section the relationships between personal characteristics of the students and their racial attitudes will be re-examined, controlling for the amount of interracial contact. The three measures of biracial contact described in the previous chapter will be used as controls. For independent variables measured on ordinal or interval scales--i.e., grade in school, perceived class, father's occupation, grade point average, parents' levels of education, personal educational aspirations, and proportion black in the school-- the simple correlations and then first order partial correlation coefficients will be computed with scores on the contact measures held constant one at a time. For independent variables measured using nominal scales--i.e., sex, urbanization, and religion--separate means will be calculated for subsets of respondents created by dividing students at the means of the contact variables.

TABLE 21

MEAN RACIAL TOLERANCE SCORES CONTROLLING FOR PROPORTION BLACK AND RACE

Proportion Black	Blacks	(N)	Whites	(N)
Less than 1	------		8.6	(1255)
8-20	0.0	(139)	-24.6	(737)
40-50	-0.4	(477)	-19.7	(626)
51-60	-5.3	(289)	-46.9	(232)
61-70	-18.8	(339)	-23.5	(298)
71-80	-6.3	(511)	-22.8	(183)
More than 99	18.4	(614)	-----	

Interpretation: Among whites, students in all-white schools were significantly more tolerant than any other group. Among blacks, students in schools 61-70 percent black and more than 99 percent black were significantly less tolerant than were those in other schools.

Tables 22, 23 and 24 present simple and partial correlations for eight background characteristics. The coefficients for the black students are--with two exceptions--quite small, although because of the large sample size, some are statistically significant. Coefficients for the white subset are all larger than for the black subset and are significant at the .01 level.

(Tables 22, 23 and 24 go here)

Statistically controlling for the amount of interracial contact does not substantially reduce the magnitude of the correlation coefficients. This indicates that the bivariate relationships are not spurious, i.e., that they are not attributable to variations in the amount of biracial contact. The only notable change produced by partialling was to increase the correlation with proportion black for whites when school contact was held constant. This means that when the effect of school contact is removed, it becomes more apparent that whites in schools having large black enrollments are less tolerant.

The more sophisticated analysis which is possible using correlations reveals relationships, especially among whites, which were obscured earlier when we had simply looked at group means. Table 23 shows that racial tolerance among whites is more common among students who have high educational aspirations, well-educated parents, fathers with white collar jobs, who attend schools with small black enrollments, who do well in school, who are older, and who perceive themselves as being higher class.

Correlation analysis reveals fewer statistically significant correlates of black racial attitudes. From Table 22 we conclude that blacks are more

TABLE 22

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR BLACK STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

		Controlling for		
	Simple	School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends
Perceived class	.04*	.04*	.04*	.04
Father's occupation	.02	.03	.05*	.03
Academic achievement	.05**	.05*	.05*	.05*
Age	.13**	.14**	.13**	.14**
Mother's education	.03	.03	.03	.03
Father's education	.04	.03	.03	.03
Education aspirations	.20**	.20**	.20	.20**
Proportion Black	-.09**	-.07**	-.09**	-.07**

*Significant at .05.

**Significant at .01.

TABLE 23

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

		Controlling for		
	Simple	School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends
Perceived class	.06**	.06**	.06**	.07**
Father's occupation	.16**	.17**	.16**	.17**
Academic achievement	.13**	.12**	.14**	.13**
Age	.06**	.07**	.07**	.07**
Mother's education	.14**	.14**	.13**	.15**
Father's education	.17**	.18**	.16**	.18**
Educational aspirations	.22**	.22**	.22**	.23**
Proportion black	-.13**	-.21**	-.13**	-.16**

* Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

TABLE 24

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS COEFFICIENTS FOR ALL STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

	Simple	Controlling for		
		School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends
Perceived class	.01	.02	.02	.03*
Father's occupation	.11**	.12**	.12**	.13**
Academic Achievement	.10**	.10**	.11**	.11**
Age	.08**	.10**	.09**	.09**
Mother's education	.10**	.10**	.10**	.11**
Father's education	.13**	.13**	.13**	.14**
Educational aspirations	.20**	.21**	.22**	.21**
Proportion black	.08**	.11**	.10**	.11**

*Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

tolerant when they have high educational aspirations, are older, do well in school, perceive their families as having high status, and attend schools with large white enrollments.

To control for interracial contact on independent variables measured using nominal scales, the desegregated students were dichotomized at the mean on each of the interracial contact measures and three sets of comparisons were made. In almost every instance, students who had experienced more than the average amount of contact were more tolerant than were those who had less biracial interaction.

The comparisons for urbanization and sex are presented in Tables 25 and 26. For each set of variables, students having more contact were more tolerant in 11 of 12 comparisons. Because of the large number of categories, the analysis conducted on the religion variable is not presented here. For 30 comparisons classifying by religious preference, 27 indicated that students with more frequent biracial contact were more tolerant.

(Tables 25 and 26 go here)

Controlling for amount of biracial contact does not, however, eliminate the relationships observed earlier. That is, urban students are consistently more tolerant than comparable rural ones and, with one exception (blacks having less biracial outside contact) females are more tolerant than males. Catholics and "other Protestants" continued to be most tolerant while Baptists and Pentecostals were generally the most prejudiced.

Summary

A number of background characteristics and their relationship with

TABLE 25

MEAN RACIAL ATTITUDES CONTROLLING FOR URBANIZATION, RACE, AND AMOUNT OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

Urban/Rural	Race	Amount of Contact	School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends
Urban	Black	More	15.3 (453)	16.9 (365)	17.8 (399)
		Less	-0.9 (254)	2.7 (330)	-1.1 (324)
	White	More	32.3 (632)	38.2 (421)	37.4 (407)
		Less	-48.9 (387)	-25.2 (592)	-21.7 (624)
Rural	Black	More	-14.6 (612)	-22.7 (480)	-9.5 (606
		Less	-28.9 (353)	-15.2 (434)	-28.5 (425)
	White	More	-23.0 (543)	-9.8 (315)	-16.3 (418)
		Less	-84.9 (482)	-70.1 (708)	-75.5 (627)

TABLE 26

MEAN RACIAL ATTITUDES CONTROLLING FOR SEX, RACE, AND AMOUNT OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

Sex	Race	Amount of Contact	School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends
Female	Black	More	4.6 (543)	1.5 (435)	4.7 (483)
		Less	-15.7 (358)	-7.2 (444)	-11.3 (445)
	White	More	22.6 (618)	39.4 (358)	35.2 (347)
		Less	-41.2 (367)	-24.6 (628)	-20.8 (644)
Male	Black	More	-6.2 (507)	-11.6 (401)	0.4 (509)
		Less	-19.3 (247)	-6.2 (315)	-23.3 (298)
	White	More	-10.9 (557)	-2.9 (378)	-7.9 (478)
		Less	-89.1 (502)	-73.0 (672)	-78.2 (607)

racial attitudes have been explored in this chapter. The literature review at the beginning of the chapter reveals frequent disagreements about the presence and/or direction of relationships.

On several points, the Georgia results do not support the hypotheses taken from the literature search. Contrary to expectations, there were differences in the racial attitudes of segregated and desegregated students, between males and females, and between students professing different religions. Segregated whites were more tolerant than their desegregated peers, but the opposite pattern existed among blacks. Females were more tolerant than males and older students (seniors) were more tolerant than younger ones. Baptists and Pentecostals tended to be most prejudiced while Catholics were most tolerant. Also differences in racial attitudes cropped up when schools having differing racial compositions were analyzed. The data in Tables 22 and 23 show that for both races, prejudice is less in schools having small black enrollments.

Several hypotheses were supported by the Georgia results. Students doing well in school and those having high educational aspirations tended to be more tolerant. Urban students were more tolerant than rural ones, and, in keeping with H4, the correlation coefficients indicated that higher status whites were more tolerant. Hypotheses specifying that children of well-educated parents would be more tolerant were supported for whites but not blacks.

After exploring bivariate relationships with racial tolerance, we controlled for the amount of interracial contact. Partial correlation coefficients calculated after controlling separately for each of the three measures of contact reveal that bivariate relationships with the background characteristics are not attributable to variations in contact patterns.

Despite finding numerous statistically significant relationships, it is appropriate to interject some words of caution. Since statistical significance is partially determined by sample size, the large number of respondents results in small correlation coefficients or differences in means achieving significance levels. For example, many correlation coefficients meet significance standards even though they explain less than one percent of the variance. None of the correlations is as high as .25 and coefficients in excess of .20 are not common.

The analysis also found some instances in which the two analytical techniques point to different conclusions. Thus, for example, when looking at the mean tolerance scores of whites after controlling for levels of parental education (Tables 18 and 19) we did not observe a monotonic relationship, although it was clear that children of parents who had a high school education, or less, were less tolerant. The correlational analysis, however, revealed that parents' education was among the stronger correlates of racial attitudes considered in this chapter. The fact that for some relationships dealt with here one might reach different conclusions depending on the mode of analysis used, leads us to wonder whether some of the conflicting conclusions sketched out in the literature review might not stem partially from the use of differing techniques of analysis.

Notes

1. Although data on age were collected, it has not been used because of the wide range, i.e., from 12 to more than 20. Particularly when means are being analyzed, it is more appropriate to use grade in school as a measure of maturity.

CHAPTER 4

Perceived Parental Attitudes, School Desegregation, and Student Racial Attitudes

The family is the first agent of socialization and only gradually, if at all, is its influence supplanted in the course of maturation. Racial attitudes, especially where race is a highly salient issue, are initially acquired in the home. In time the influence of the family may be challenged as youngsters develop friendships, are exposed to new ideas, and encounter situations at variance with home experiences. In later life the attitudes which some people obtained from their parents will be modified. Others will use the attitudes passed on by their parents as the primary criteria in evaluating ideas and experiences through which they selectivly reinforce beliefs and preferences held since childhood.

Elimination of racially segregated schools in the South has created conditions under which there may be conflict between perceived parental attitudes and personal experiences for many students. Classroom encounters afford an opportunity for students to empirically test parental observations and warnings about the behavior, character, and beliefs of members of the other race.

This chapter explores the relationship between perceived parental racial attitudes and student racial attitudes. In the course of the analysis, controls for several factors which might independently influence the students' attitudes will be introduced.

Perceived Parental Attitudes

The literature concerning the effects of perceived parental attitudes on students' racial tolerance indicates that a positive relationship exists.

Epstein and Komorita (1966a: 643-647; 1966b: 259-264) report that perceptions of parental attitudes are moderately to highly related to students' social distance scores. Campbell (1958: 340) finds that students' attitudes are likely to change in the direction of what they perceive parental attitudes to be. Work by Chester and associates (1968: 3) reports that whites' perceptions of parental attitudes correlate with the amount of inter-racial contact experienced by students. Therefore we anticipate that respondents' racial attitudes will be strongly associated with what they perceive to be their parents' attitudes.

Perceptions of parental attitudes were measured using five questions. As reported in Table 27, a single factor emerged when a factor analysis was performed. The questions load strongly with all values in excess of .63. This factor encompasses perceptions of parental racial trust, racial superiority, and school related interaction.

(Table 27 goes here)

If we compare perceptions of parental racial attitudes in Table 27 with student racial attitudes as reported in Table 1, it appears that students generally perceive their parents to be less tolerant than themselves. On only two questions did more than 60 percent of the respondents believe their parents to be tolerant. In contrast, at least 60 percent of the students expressed personal tolerance on seven of eight questions used to measure student racial attitudes. It seems, then, that while parental attitudes have probably helped shape student racial attitudes, the younger generation is casting off some of the prejudices of its elders. Next we will discuss variables which may account for the differences in tolerance.

TABLE 27

QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING PERCEIVED PARENTAL ATTITUDES VARIABLES WITH FACTOR LOADINGS

Questions	Factor Loadings	Tolerant Responses
1. My parents have warned me not to trust the other race.	.63955	66.2%
2. My parents believe that the other race is inferior.	.64940	51.4%
3. On the whole, my parents think that members of the other race are trouble-makers.	.73252	55.1%
4. I do not think that my parents would want to work on school parent committees, such as the PTA, with parents of another race.	.70846	61.5%
5. On the whole, my parents consider members of the other race as non-achievers.	.74723	54.2%

Contact Variables

As explained in Chapter 2, inter-racial contact has been frequently suggested as a factor which can cause attitude modification. Results of studies conducted by Koslin *et al*. (1969) and the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1967: 112) indicating that biracial contact among students produces more tolerance were noted. It was also pointed out, however, that other research has concluded that attending desegregated schools may lead to more prejudiced attitudes (e.g. Dentler and Elkins, 1967; Webster, 1961). In exploring the effects of controlling for contact, we will control for whether the student attends a segregated or desegregated school and also control for the amount of school and outside contact and the share of biracial friendships.

We also introduce a new control variable, peer attitudes. Using a before and after design, Campbell (1958: 335-340) found that white students in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, became more tolerant if they made friendships with blacks. Although the magnitude of attitudinal changes were generally not statistically significant, the tendency was for student racial attitudes to change in the direction of the perceived attitudes of classmates and good friends. Although perceptions of peer attitudes influenced respondent attitudes, they were of less importance than were perceived parental attitudes. Bruce Campbell (1975) has also found that peer attitudes significantly influence the racial attitudes of southern high school seniors. This leads to two hypotheses. First, student attitudes should correlate with what they perceive their peers' attitudes to be. Second, perceived peer attitudes will be less strongly associated than are perceived parental attitudes with respondent's racial attitudes. To explore the effect of friends' influence, students were asked to respond on a Likert scale to the following statement: "Most of my friends think school integration has been a good thing."

Findings

Perceived Parental Attitudes

When the scale measuring perceived parental attitudes was correlated with student scores on the modified Greenberg racial attitudes scale, statistically significant relationships emerged. The Pearson product moment coefficient using parental attitudes was .52, which indicates that students who perceive their parents to be tolerant tend to be tolerant themselves. When the respondents are divided into racial subsets, the relationship is somewhat stronger for whites (r = .55) than for blacks (r = .41). These are the largest correlation coefficients observed thus far in this report.

To determine whether contact, desegregation, or peer influence reduce the relationship between parental attitudes and student racial attitudes, partial correlation coefficients were calculated. Controls were imposed singularly and in combination for the five potential intervening variables. If one or more of these variables reduces the relationship between parental and student attitudes, it will help to explain why students were more tolerant than their parents.

Desegregation

To determine whether the racial juxtaposition produced by attending a desegregated school modifies the strength of parental influence, partial correlation coefficients were calculated using attendance at a segregated/desegregated school as a dummy variable. The partial correlations for blacks (.41) and whites (.54) were of the same magnitude as the bivariate relationships, indicating that whether the respondent attended a segregated or desegregated school has no impact on the relationship between parental and student attitudes.

Inter-Racial Contact

In Chapter 2 correlations between the three measures of inter-racial contact and racial attitudes were presented. These results show correlations which were not particularly large. It is not surprising therefore that controlling for amounts of inter-racial contact does not substantially reduce the bivariate relationships observed between student attitudes and what they perceive to be their parents' racial attitudes. As reported in Table 28, when partial correlation coefficients are computed controlling for school contact, outside contact, and biracial friendships, the simple correlations remain virtually unchanged. Thus the relationship between what students perceive to be their parents' racial attitudes and their own feelings about racial matters are independent of contact.

(Table 28 goes here)

Peer Attitudes

Perceptions of friends' racial attitudes were more strongly associated with student tolerance than were the contact measures. The simple correlation for white was r = .35 and for blacks r = .22, indicating that students who perceive that their friends approve of desegregation are more tolerant in racial matters.

While still not very large, controlling for peer attitudes has a more noticeable influence than did controlling for the four previous variables.

TABLE 28

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTAL RACIAL ATTITUDES AND STUDENT TOLERANCE

	Simple	Desegregation	School Contact	Outside Contact	Biracial Friends	Peers' Attitudes	5th Order Partials
Black	.41	.41	.41	.41	.39	.39	.39
White	.55	.54	.54	.55	.55	.51	.48

For the white respondents, when perceived peers' attitudes are held constant, the partial correlation drops to .51, in contrast with the simple r of .55. Thus it appears that a small portion of the influence on student attitudes initially attributed to perceptions of parents' attitudes should more correctly be ascribed to peer influence. However, the stronger pattern is for peer and parental racial attitudes to coincide. This accords with research on student educational aspirations which found that peer influence tended to reinforce parental influence (Kandel and Lesser, 1972: 150).

Fifth Order Partials

The relationship between perceived parental attitudes and student racial attitudes were not substantially reduced when first order partials were calculated. A more exacting test of the staying power of the bivariate relationship is to calculate fifth order partials. When school contact, outside contact, biracial friendships, perceptions of friends' attitudes, and whether the respondent attended a segregated or desegregated school were simultaneously held constant, the partial correlation coefficients between parental and student racial attitudes were .39 for blacks and .48 for whites. Clearly the relationship remains strong although partialling diminishes it somewhat more for whites than blacks.

Summary

Although students' racial attitudes appear to be more tolerant than what they perceive to be their parents' attitudes, perceived parental attitudes were a very strong correlate of student attitudes. The bivariate relationship was not appreciably reduced even when a series of controls to take account of contact across racial lines were imposed. The analysis, therefore, does not support the proposition that students are more tolerant than their parents because of the experiences which they have had with members of the other race, or because of the influence of their friends' attitudes.

CHAPTER 5

Age and Shifting Correlates of Racial Prejudice

With maturation comes a weakening of parental influence. As a person advances from childhood to adolescence, parental control of behavior is reduced as new stimuli introduce attitudes and values dissimilar from those of the parents. For high school students, preferences of friends and of the local community are a likely source of attitudinal cues which may conflict with parental values. "The importance of peer relations is emphasized at adolescence when the individual is of an age to begin abandoning dependence of the family of origin, but discouraged by cultural patterns of modern societies from marrying or assuming adult roles" (Sebert, Jennings, and Niemi, 1974:230).

This note explores the relationship between maturation and correlates of racial attitudes. The data used are responses from students in the eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades. The students were asked to report their own racial attitudes and also their perceptions of the racial attitudes of three reference groups -- their family, friends, and community.[2]

It is expected that for each group there will be a relationship between student tolerance and the three independent variables. As has already been discussed, research by others has found that students' racial attitudes closely parallel those which they perceive for their parents (Campbell, 1958:340; Epstein and Komorita, 1966a:643-647, 1966b:259-264; Chester, Wittes, and Radin, 1968:3). There is also some evidence that following desegregation, white students' attitudes about blacks become increasingly like the attitudes which they perceive among their friends (Campbell, 1958). Thus the hypothesis that students who perceive parents, friends, or the community as tolerant will be more likely to be tolerant themselves. While positive relationships are always expected, it is hypothesized that perceived parental attitudes will correlate most strongly with respondent tolerance among the younger students. Eighth graders tend to be very much subject to parental control and influence, while seniors have experienced increasing independence and are poised to leave home for work, college, or marriage. Thus for older students it is anticipated that the relationship with parental attitudes will have declined, while relationships between respondent attitudes and the tolerance perceived among friends and in the community will have increased.

Independent Variables

The scale on which parental social attitudes are measured has been discussed in the preceding chapter. To measure respondent perceptions of close friends' racial attitudes, students were asked to respond on a Likert scale to the statement: "Most of my friends think school integration has been a good thing." A plurality (36.4 percent) perceived intolerance, 32.9 percent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, and 30.7 percent were undecided. Blacks were more likely to believe that their friends thought integration had been beneficial than were whites. Almost half of the blacks (47.2 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement compared with 22.8 percent of the whites.

The third measure focuses on a broader reference group, people in the community of the respondent's race. Blacks were asked: "In general, how many blacks in this area would you say are in favor of integration?" A comparable question was asked of whites. Response options were: All, Most, Half, A Few, and None. As shown in Table 29, the black sample divided approximately into thirds with 34.9 percent believing that a majority of their black neighbors wanted integration, 34.2 percent ascribing this attitude to a minority and 30.8 percent seeing the community as being evenly split. Whites generally saw their race as less supportive. Only 16.1 percent saw majority support for integration while 62.3 percent saw majority opposition.

(Table 29 goes here)

Findings

Results reported in Table 30 show that, as expected, student racial attitudes correlate with their perceptions of their parents' attitudes. For the entire sample the correlation (Pearson r) is .49, with a higher value (r=.55) for whites than for blacks (r=.41). A similar pattern emerges for correlations with friends' attitudes, being .29 for all respondents, .35 for whites, and .22 for blacks. Also students in both races who thought that members of their race in the community favored desegregation were more tolerant than were other students. Again the correlation was larger for whites (r=.30) than for blacks (r=.15). For all three independent variables, the evidence is that student racial attitudes are in the same direction as those they perceive in their reference groups.

(Table 30 goes here)

The data support the expectation that as students matured their racial attitudes would more closely conform to those which they perceive among their friends and in the community. For both races and for both independent

Table 29

Distributions of Responses on Dependent Variables

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Most of my friends think school integration has been a good thing.		8.1%	24.8%	30.7%	22.0%	14.4%
		(457)	(1394)	(1728)	(1234)	(808)
	Blacks	13.7	33.5	25.2	19.2	8.4
		(319)	(781)	(589)	(449)	(196)
	Whites	4.2	18.6	34.7	23.9	18.6
		(138)	(613)	(1139)	(785)	(612)

	All	Most	Half	Few	None
In general, how many blacks in this area would you say are in favor of integration?	7.2%	27.7%	30.8%	28.4%	5.8%
	(166)	(635)	(706)	(651)	(134)
How many whites in this area would you say are in favor of integration?	2.8	13.3	21.6	42.5	19.8
	(91)	(429)	(696)	(1373)	(639)

Table 30

Correlations with Student Tolerance Controlling For Race and Age

	8th	10th	12th	All
		Total		
Parents' Attitudes	.50 (2005)	.49 (2077)	.49 (1530)	.49 (5612)
Friends' Attitudes[a]	.21 (1965)	.31 (2045)	.39 (1517)	.29 (5527)
		Blacks		
Parents' Attitudes	.34 (879)	.42 (805)	.45 (649)	.41 (2333)
Friends' Attitudes	.16 (853)	.21 (783)	.30 (643)	.22 (2279)
Community Attitudes	.05 (846)	.17 (767)	.27 (631)	.15 (2244)
		Whites		
Parents' Attitudes	.60 (1126)	.53 (1272)	.51 (881)	.55 (3279)
Friends' Attitudes	.26 (1112)	.38 (1262)	.44 (874)	.35 (3248)
Community Attitudes	.23 (1099)	.33 (1231)	.39 (863)	.30 (3193)

[a] Because perceived community attitudes of blacks and whites were tapped using different questions, it is not possible to present correlations on this variable for the total sample.

variables the correlations become larger as we move from eighth to twelfth graders. For blacks, increases were from r=.16 to r=.30 using perceived friends' attitudes and from r=.05 to r=.27 using perceived community attitudes. For whites, correlations with friends' attitudes rose from .26 to .44 and with community attitudes the increase was from .23 to .39. These data indicate that as youngsters progress through high school their racial attitudes increasingly approximate the attitudes they see in both their friends and the community.

The expectation that with maturity the correlations between parental and student attitudes would decline is borne out only for whites. Among whites the correlations drop from .60 for eighth graders to .51 for twelfth graders. However among blacks, grade in school is associated with increasingly strong correlations between student racial attitudes and those which they perceive among their parents.

Thus far it has been shown that all three independent variables are related to student tolerance. Now we shall use step-wise multiple regression to look at the predictive values of each independent variable when the other two variables have been controlled for. This analysis will reveal whether each variable makes an independent contribution to explaining student racial attitudes, or whether some of the observed bivariate relations are spurious. The betas reported in Table 31 show how much change occurs in the dependent variable when the independent variable changes by a unit of one. The R^2 indicates how much of the variance in the dependent variable is statistically explained by the combined influence of the independent variables.

Results in Table 31 show that, as expected, the effects of friends' and community attitudes increase with respondent age. For each grade, betas for friends' attitudes exceed those for the community. Also, in conformance with expectations, the betas for whites' parental attitudes decrease with age. Thus among whites, although perceived parental attitudes are the best predictors of student tolerance at every age, the parental variable declines in influence while friends' and community attitudes become increasingly important as students go through high school.

(Table 31 goes here)

Among blacks the pattern is more complex. Betas for parental attitudes rise from .38 for eighth graders to .46 for tenth graders, then drop to .43 for seniors. Without additional longitudinal data points we can only speculate, but a possible explanation is that parental influence on black students' racial attitudes peaks at the tenth grade (while for whites the high point is the eighth grade or earlier). A longer time period would probably show black parental influence continuing to drop among respondents who have left high school. The pattern for the other two variables is as anticipated, with the betas increasing with age.

Summary

Generally the findings support the expectation that the three independent variables would correlate with student tolerance and that as students matured parental influence would decline while perceptions of the racial attitudes of friends and the community would become increasingly important. The evidence for whites is more compelling than for blacks, but a broader age range might

Table 31

Step-Wise Multiple Regression with Student Tolerance Controlling for Race and Age

		Perceived Racial Attitudes Of			
		Parents (betas)	Friends (betas)	Community (betas)	R^2
Blacks	8th	.38	.12	.00	.17
	10th	.46	.15	.07	.27
	12th	.43	.18	.09	.29
Whites	8th	.57	.13	.07	.40
	10th	.45	.21	.12	.36
	12th	.40	.26	.16	.39

show that this research includes the point at which perceived parental attitudes have their largest independent effect on black youngsters' racial tolerance.

CHAPTER 6

Anomie and Self-Concept

This chapter explores the possibility that the way students view themselves and their relationship to the larger world may influence their attitudes about members of the other race. As will be detailed shortly, there is reason to believe that psychological characteristics may be associated with racial tolerance. Before deriving hypotheses from the literature and testing their applicability to the Georgia data set, we will describe how the variables were measured and present material showing the distribution of responses on the questions used in constructing the scales on which the variables were measured.

Measuring the Independent Variables

The two independent variables analyzed in this chapter were measured using several questions. The responses which were registered on Likert scales were factor analyzed. These analyses showed that for each variable, the questions loaded on a single factor.

Measurement of anomie was accomplished through use of four questions developed by Srole (1956). As Table 32 shows, the loadings for the four questions ranged from .55549 to .62325. Seven questions taken from Rosenberg (1965) were used to construct the self-esteem scale. The factor loadings reported in Table 33 show that the loadings ranged between .53605 and .65595.

(Tables 32 and 33 go here)

TABLE 32

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR SROLE'S ANOMIE SCALE

1.	In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.	.59387
2.	You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.	.60665
3.	Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	.62325
4.	There's little use writing to public officials because they often aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	.55549

TABLE 33

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ROSENBERG'S SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

1. I feel I have a number of good qualities.	.61533
2. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	.57791
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. (a)	.57119
4. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	.63670
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (a)	.56959
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	.65595
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	.53605

(a) Responses to these questions were recoded to bring them in line with the other questions.

Independent Variables

Anomie

Other research has found that anomie is associated with prejudice. In a study of 287 adult white males in Guilford County, North Carolina, Tumin and Collins report that, "the higher the anomie the greater the resistance to desegregation" (1959:263). The Tumin and Collins finding is especially instructive for the Georgia study since three of the five questions used in their anomie scale are also used in measuring anomie among the Georgia students.

Tables 34 and 35 show how black and white students, respectively, were distributed in responding to the anomie questions. Both sets of students were generally anomic, with the number of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the four negative statements outnumbering those who disagreed or disagreed strongly. More than two-thirds of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that "You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile."

(Tables 34 and 35 go here)

While both races tended to give responses indicating anomie, the tendency was somewhat more pronounced among blacks than whites. Greater pessimism was registered among blacks on items stating that the lot of the average person is deteriorating and that one should live for today alone. On the first item a majority of the blacks, compared with 41.3 percent of the whites, agreed. The disparity was even greater on the other statement which was accepted by 65.0 percent of the blacks and

TABLE 34

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING THE ANOMIE SCALE (IN PERCENT)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N
In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.	15.8	34.3	27.4	15.4	7.0	2342
You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.	18.8	53.4	16.7	7.4	3.8	2323
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	22.7	42.3	15.1	14.0	5.8	2307
There's little use writing to public officials because they often aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	15.0	30.2	31.8	16.7	6.3	2281

TABLE 35

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITES' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING THE ANOMIE SCALE (IN PERCENT)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N
The lot of the average man is getting worse.......	11.6	29.7	33.9	18.0	6.8	3292
You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.	15.7	52.1	14.2	12.5	5.6	3285
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today	16.0	36.8	16.2	20.5	10.6	3271
There's little use writing to public officals..	17.0	31.5	26.8	19.1	5.6	3329

52.8 percent of the whites. Whites were more negative than blacks only in response to the proposition concerning the efficacy of writing public officials and here the difference was just over three percentage points.

Self-Concept

Scholars agree that people who have more positive self-concepts -- who are more satisfied with themselves -- are more tolerant of others. Using a sample of 302 white fifth graders in six all-white San Francisco area schools, Tabachnick (1962:198) reports that relationships in the anticipated direction were found for each of ten categories considered. A study of approximately 1200 white high school students revealed that pupils who worried about competition from blacks in sports, dating, and other school activities expressed significantly less willingness to interact with blacks in a variety of contexts (Chadwick, Bahr, and Day, 1971:873-888).

Ehrlich explains the tendency of self-concept to be associated with racial attitudes in the following manner, "The more favorable are a person's self-attitudes, the greater the number of acceptable targets and the more positive their attitudes toward them; the more negative the self-attitudes, the greater the number of unacceptable targets and the more negative are attitudes toward them" (1973:130). He offers two possible reasons for findings in this vein. First, children may look at others in the same light in which they view themselves, so that if they see themselves favorably, they will be positive in evaluating others. Second, children who are insecure may feel a need to be critical of others as a technique for bolstering their egos.

Tables 36 and 37 which display the distribution of responses to the self-esteem questions show that blacks and whites are both quite positive about themselves. At least three-fourths of the whites gave positive responses on each question. Among blacks, the lowest proportion giving responses indicating a positive self-image was in the context of feeling proud of themselves (72.3 percent). The students' strong vote of confidence in themselves contrasts sharply with the pessimism so clearly evident in response to the questions used to measure anomie.

(Tables 36 and 37 go here)

Generally whites displayed higher self-esteem than did blacks. On four items whites were between four and twelve percentage points more likely to reveal positive self-attitudes than were blacks. On one item ("I feel I have a number of good qualities") blacks were almost seven percentage points more positive than were whites. On the last two items in the scale, the racial sets differed by less than three percentage points.

Findings

When respondents' scores on the anomie scale and the self-esteem scale were correlated with scores on the Greenberg racial attitudes scale, we find statistically significant relationships. For the entire sample, lower scores on the anomie scale and more positive self-attitudes are associated with greater racial tolerance. (See Table 38.)

TABLE 36

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING THE SELF-ESTEEM SCALE (IN PERCENT)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N
1. I feel I have a number of good qualities.	32.8	51.3	10.8	3.1	2.1	2357
2. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	38.6	48.6	7.0	4.0	1.8	2354
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	5.2	9.5	11.8	29.7	43.7	2327
4. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	31.9	47.4	13.1	5.1	2.5	2314
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	6.3	11.9	9.5	30.6	41.7	2304
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	26.8	49.5	14.6	6.7	2.4	2321
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	33.6	45.0	10.2	8.0	3.2	2284

TABLE 37

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITES' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING THE SELF-ESTEEM SCALE (IN PERCENT)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N
1. I feel I have a number of good qualities.	18.3	59.0	19.1	2.9	0.8	3309
2. I am able to do things as well as most people.	24.2	67.3	6.0	1.9	0.6	3315
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	2.9	4.4	8.1	37.9	46.7	3296
4. I feel that I'm a person of worth ...	27.8	60.9	8.7	2.0	0.7	3280
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	2.6	6.4	6.5	37.5	47.0	3273
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	19.3	57.6	17.3	5.2	0.6	3288
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	19.1	56.9	12.5	9.4	2.1	3275

(Table 38 goes here)

There is, however, a distinct difference between blacks and whites. Black youngsters who believe in themselves are much more likely to be racially tolerant. This is one of the strongest correlates of black racial attitudes in this entire report. It is also one of the few variables for which the correlation with tolerance is stronger for blacks than for whites.

Among whites, the anomie measure is more strongly associated with racial attitudes than is self-esteem. For whites, anomia is related to prejudice, as hypothesized, while among blacks a small although statistically significant relationship exists between anomia and tolerance. Controlling for the three measures of biracial contact does not reduce any of the bivariate correlations.

Summary

In this chapter the development of scales for measuring anomie and self-esteem have been explained. The Georgia students generally demonstrated high self-assurance, but this was coupled with a great deal of pessimism on the anomie scale. Blacks tended to be more anomic than whites, with the two races being more similar on the self-concept questions.

Research by others suggests that an absence of anomie and high self-esteem should be associated with racial tolerance. Data from the Georgia sample conform with these expectations with one exception: Blacks were slightly more likely to be tolerant, rather than prejudiced, when they had high scores on the anomie scale.

TABLE 38

CORRELATIONS OF ANOMIE AND SELF-ESTEEM WITH RACIAL ATTITUDES

	Blacks	Whites	Total
Anomie	.04* (2188)	-.18** (3272)	-.11** (5460)
Self-Esteem	.32** (2188)	.09** (3272)	.17** (5460)

*Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

CHAPTER 7

Explaining Racial Attitudes

In the earlier chapters a number of variables have been correlated with racial attitudes. In this chapter step-wise multiple regression will be used to sort out the relative importance of the many independent correlates. The multiple regression will produce beta weights which will indicate the predictive value of each independent value and also a multiple R^2 which shows the total amount of variance which can be explained by the model. The analysis in this chapter will produce a more parsimonious explanation of factors associated with student racial attitudes. The step-wise regression technique will show the relative additional explanatory power of each new variable as it is entered into the equation. Some variables will not add sufficiently to our understanding of what influences racial attitudes and will be dropped from the equation.

All but one of the independent variables which had previously been found to be associated with racial attitudes were used in the multiple regression formula. For the multiple regression analysis three of the variables measured with a nominal scale (i.e., sex, urban/rural, and attendance at a segregated/desegregated school) were treated as dummy variables. One variable, religion, could not be handled in this fashion and was therefore excluded from this analysis.

In this chapter the results of the multiple regression analysis will be presented for the entire sample and several subsets. This presentation will reveal differences by race, sex, age, and whether respondents live in urban or rural areas. Only variables which can increase the explained variance by at least an additional one percentage point will be considered although there are, in some instances, other variables which have statistically significant betas but add little to our explanatory capabilities.

Findings

With only one exception the independent variable having the greatest predictive power is the perceived racial attitudes of students' parents. The second most useful variable is generally the perception of one's friends' racial attitudes. As Tables 39, 40, and 41 show, these two variables enter first and second in the regression equations for the total sample as well as for each racial subset. Another pattern revealed in these first tables which continues to appear when various controls are imposed is that more of the variance can be explained in white attitudes than in black attitudes. Yet another pattern is for fewer variables to meet the minimum threshold for inclusion in the multiple regression equations for blacks than for whites. Table 40 shows that three variables explain 36 percent of the variance in black racial attitudes while with seven variables, 44 percent of the variance in white racial attitudes can be explained.

(Tables 39, 40, and 41 go here)

The next four tables (42, 43, 44, and 45) focus on attitudes after controlling for race and whether the respondent attended a segregated or

TABLE 39

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Total Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.43	
Friends' racial attitudes	.21	
Educational aspirations	.07	$R^2 = .37$

TABLE 40

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Black Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.44	
Friends' racial attitudes	.14	
Self-esteem	.14	$R^2 = .36$

TABLE 41

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the White Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.39	
Friends' racial attitudes	.18	
Urban	.11	
Community attitudes	.11	
Education aspirations	.08	
Segregated/Desegregated	.24	
School contact	.15	$R^2 = .44$

desegregated school. For both races more of the variance can be explained for the segregated than the desegregated students. The difference is particularly great among whites, where four variables explain 35 percent of the variance in the segregated set but five variables can account for 47 percent of the variance in the desegregated set. Parents' and friends' racial attitudes are among the most important variables for all four sets of students. Among whites, living in an urban area is associated with tolerance for both sets of students. The beta weight indicates that living in an urban setting produces somewhat more change in attitudes among segregated than desegregated whites. In the latter group the influence of two racial interaction variables probably accounts for the urban variable producing less change.

(Tables 42, 43, 44 and 45 go here)

Self-esteem is an important variable for segregated but not desegregated blacks. The data available do not permit more than speculation about what accounts for this finding. To speculate, segregated blacks had a higher mean factor score (39.5) than did desegregated blacks (20.9) on the self-concept scale. This suggests that attending a desegregated school leads to lower self-esteem. As with much of the research reviewed in Chapter 3, there is disagreement among scholars about the impact of desegregation on self-concept (St. John, 1975:51), but some scholars have reported that in the short-run desegregation produces lower self-esteem. Blacks who have high self concept may find it easier to interact with white classmates which may lead to greater willingness to accept whites.

TABLE 42

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Segregated Black Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.49	
Friends' racial attitudes	.17	
Sex	.06	$R^2 = .31$

TABLE 43

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.43	
Self-esteem	.16	
Friends' racial attitudes	.13	$R^2 = .38$

TABLE 44

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Segregated Whites

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.39	
Friends' racial attitudes	.16	
Urban	.18	
Community attitudes	.17	$R^2 = .35$

TABLE 45

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attiudes of the Desegregated Whites

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.39	
Friends' racial attitudes	.20	
School contact	.15	
Urban	.10	
Biracial friends	.12	$R^2 = .47$

The remainder of the analysis deals only with desegregated students. Tables 46, 47, 48, and 49 permit comparisons by race and sex. While more variance can be explained for whites than for blacks, the same amounts of variance can be explained for each sex once we control for sex. The equations for white males and females each include six variables of which four (perceived parental attitudes, perceived friends' attitudes, school contact, and biracial friendships) are the same for both sexes.

Excluding the contact measures, the variables included in the equations for white males and black females display certain similarities. Perceptions of parents' and friends' levels of tolerance, self-esteem, and educational aspirations had roughly equal beta weights for these sets of respondents. Discovery of this similarity reminds us of the research noted in Chapter 3 which found that these two groups have greater difficulties adjusting to desegregation than do white females and black males. Self-esteem is an important variable for all groups except white females. Students evincing self satisfaction -- and particularly black males -- tend to be more tolerant.

(Tables 46, 47, 48 and 49 go here)

Controlling by race and sex, we find new combinations of variables in some of the equations. Black females are the first group to have the anomie measure in their equation. In keeping with data presented in Chapter 6, evidence of anomia is related to tolerance and not prejudice which is contrary to our expectations. The equation for black males displays an even more striking difference, for it is the first one not to

TABLE 46

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black Female Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.42	
Friends' racial attitudes	.16	
Self-esteem	.12	
Educational aspirations	.14	
Anomie	.10	R^2 = .40

TABLE 47

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black Male Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.45	
Self-esteem	.21	
Community attitudes	.10	R^2 = .39

TABLE 48

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated White Female Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.37	
Friends' racial attitudes	.19	
School contact	.17	
Age	.13	
Biracial friends	.12	
Urban	.11	$R^2 = .48$

TABLE 49

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated White Male Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.40	
Friends' racial attitudes	.21	
School contact	.14	
Self-esteem	.12	
Educational aspirations	.12	
Biracial friends	.12	$R^2 = .49$

include perceptions of friends' racial attitudes. In place of friends' attitudes, perceptions of community attitudes enter the regression formula indicating a stronger relationship between the latter than the former with black male tolerance.

Tables 50, 51, 52, and 53 present data when controls for race and whether the respondent lives in an urban or rural area are imposed. The patterns for the two races differ with the R^2 for urban blacks (.41) exceeding that for rural blacks (.36) while the opposite holds among whites where R^2 for the urban sample is .44 compared with .50 for the rural set. Among blacks, the first three variables to enter the equation (parental attitudes, self-esteem, friends' attitudes) are the same for both the urban and rural sets. For whites we also find three variables entering the equations in the same order (parents' attitudes, friends' attitudes, and school contact) for the urban and rural respondents. Perceptions of community tolerance were associated with tolerant responses for urban students of both races. Desires to achieve extensive amounts of education were related to racial tolerance among urban whites and rural blacks.

Inter-racial contact was again more important among whites than blacks. It was particularly important for rural whites (who were shown to be less tolerant than their urban counterparts in Chapter 3) with two measures -- school contact and biracial friendships -- being in the equation.

(Tables 50, 51, 52, and 53 go here)

The last item to be considered is grade in school. As was

TABLE 50

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Rural Black Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.43	
Self-esteem	.15	
Friends' racial attitudes	.13	
Educational aspirations	.15	R^2 = .36

TABLE 51

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Urban Black Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.43	
Self-esteem	.19	
Friends' racial attitudes	.14	
Anomie	.14	
Community attitudes	.11	R^2 = .41

TABLE 52

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the White Desegregated Rural Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.49	
Friends' racial attitudes	.17	
School contact	.11	
Biracial friends	.14	
Sex	.10	$R^2 = .50$

TABLE 53

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the White Desegregated Urban Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.29	
Friends' racial attitudes	.22	
School contact	.19	
Educational aspirations	.09	
Community attitudes	.11	$R^2 = .44$

demonstrated in Chapter 5, the influence of perceptions of parental, peer, and community racial attitudes vary with grade in school. For both races the least variance is explained for eighth graders while the greatest amount is explained for sophomores. This pattern is particularly strong for blacks.

Tables 54, 55, and 56 show how the variables in the regression equations change as black students mature. Parents' attitudes are the best predictor at all grade levels. Perceptions of friends' racial attitudes drop from being the second most important item at the eighth grade to third place for the older students. Self-esteem moves up from third to second place as we move from eighth graders to sophomores. Perceptions of community racial attitudes which ranked fourth for eighth graders was no longer an important variable, ranking eighth for the sophomore sample. In the sample of seniors it had dropped to ninth place and, while the beta was very small, it was negative (-.06). Thus at the eighth grade, blacks who believed that the local black community favored desegregation were more tolerant; those who were four years older were -- to the extent that community attitudes had any independent influence -- more likely to be prejudiced when they perceived that their community favored desegregation. Older students, but not eighth graders, were likely to be racially tolerant when they desired advanced educations and (among seniors) when they displayed signs of anomie.

(Tables 54, 55, and 56 go here)

Several age related patterns exist among whites. Perhaps the most

TABLE 54

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black 8th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.41	
Friends' racial attitudes	.15	
Self-esteem	.11	
Community attitudes	.11	$R^2 = .33$

TABLE 55

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black 10th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.49	
Self-esteem	.19	
Friends' racial attitudes	.10	
Educational aspirations	.10	$R^2 = .46$

TABLE 56

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated Black 12th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.41	
Self-esteem	.23	
Friends' racial attitudes	.21	
Anomie	.13	
Educational aspirations	.13	$R^2 = .37$

surprising finding is that the parental attitudes variable is not the first one to enter the equation for seniors. This is the only instance among the 21 analyses presented in this chapter where the parents' variable does not make the largest contribution to the variance explained. Perceptions of parental attitudes explains 13.8 percent of the variance while perceptions of friends' attitudes accounts for 27.8 percent of the variance. Tables 57, 58, and 59 show that while parental attitudes decline in importance from first to second place, perceptions of friends' attitudes rise from fourth place among eighth graders to third place among sophomores to first place among seniors. Thus friends become an increasingly important reference group.

(Tables 57, 58, and 59 go here)

The role played by inter-racial contact in explaining tolerance declines with age. In the eighth and tenth grades, having a great deal of contact with blacks at school was the second most important correlate of tolerance. Among seniors this variable ranked ninth in importance. Friendships with blacks ranked sixth for eighth graders, rose to fifth place for tenth graders, then declined to seventh place for seniors.

Living in urban areas and having high self-esteem are important correlates of racial attitudes for eighth graders and seniors but not for sophomores. A different pattern exists for sex and educational aspirations. Being female and planning to get a great deal of education are important correlates of the two higher grades but not the lower one.

The pattern for perceived community racial attitudes is diametrically

TABLE 57

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated White 8th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.50	
School contact	.16	
Urban	.09	
Friends' racial attitudes	.13	
Self-esteem	.11	$R^2 = .47$

TABLE 58

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated White 10th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Parents' racial attitudes	.39	
School contact	.19	
Friends' racial attitudes	.18	
Sex	.13	
Biracial friends	.13	
Educational aspirations	.10	$R^2 = .53$

TABLE 59

Betas and Multiple R^2 for Variables in the Multiple Regression Equation for Racial Attitudes of the Desegregated White 12th Grade Sample

Variables	Beta	
Friends' racial attitudes	.26	
Parents' racial attitudes	.26	
Self-esteem	.14	
Community attitudes	.14	
Educational aspirations	.11	
Outside contact	.10	
Sex	.11	$R^2 = .52$

opposite for blacks and whites. For blacks, this variable declined in importance with age, while among whites it became more significant with age, ranking fourth for seniors.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter reveals that out of a large number of variables which were significantly related to racial attitudes when bivariate correlations were calculated, a relatively small number suffice to account for the variance which can be explained. In ten equations for sets of black pupils, only seven different variables were used of the 20 that were considered. For whites a total of 12 different variables appear in the ten equations.

The variables used consistently result in a larger share of the variance being explained for whites than blacks. Generally half the variance can be explained for whites while for blacks the amount of variance explained is often less than 40 percent. Thus the multivariate analysis is like the earlier bivariate analysis in the sense that variables typically correlate more strongly with white than black racial tolerance.

Two variables, perceptions of parents' racial attitudes and perceptions of friends' attitudes, show up in almost every equation and are very important correlates of student tolerance in both races. Among blacks self-esteem was important for all groups except those attending segregated schools. Among whites self-esteem was a useful variable for only three groups (males, eighth graders, and seniors). A second variable which was more useful in analyzing blacks than whites was anomie. Three groups of blacks (females, seniors, and urban students) but no white groups had anomie as an important variable.

There were four variables which were more useful in explaining variance in white than black racial attitudes. Sex appears in three white equations (sophomores, seniors, and rural students) but only in the equation for segregated students among blacks. School contact was often a strong independent correlate of white attitudes and figured in eight of the ten equations. Biracial friendships and the urban variable were items in five white equations each. Neither of these variables, nor school contact, is useful in explaining the racial attitudes of blacks.

Educational aspiration and perceptions of community preferences are each useful predictors in several black and white equations. Educational aspirations play a role in explaining racial attitudes of sophomores and seniors of both races. Beyond this there is a divergence with the variable appearing in the equations for rural and female blacks but in the equations of urban and male whites. The community attitudes variable is in the equations for urban students of both races. Among blacks it is important for eighth graders while for whites it enters the equation of seniors.

If we consider sets of variables, some interesting patterns become apparent. First, measures of racial interaction are often important independent correlates of white but not black attitudes. The four measures of actual or potential interaction (attendance at a desegregated school, school contact, outside contact, and biracial friendships) appear a total of 15 times in the ten equations for white attitudes. At least one of these variables is in each white equation except for segregated whites who would be much less likely to experience inter-racial contact. School contact is especially important, ranking second or third in seven equations. Despite the role played in explaining white attitudes, none of the racial interaction variables appears in any of the equations for blacks.

From the multiple regressions we conclude that for whites, interacting with blacks -- especially when the interaction is school related -- is important in explaining positive racial attitudes. Among blacks, school interaction and biracial friendships are associated with tolerance (see Chapter 2) but the effects of these variables are subsumed under other variables when a multivariate analysis is conducted.

Second, the psychological variables (anomie and self-concept) are more useful in understanding black than white racial attitudes. High self-esteem correlates with tolerance in all groups of desegregated blacks but for only three sets of desegregated whites.

Third, proportion black in a school had no significant explanatory power in any of the equations. This suggests that concern that prejudice is more likely to be reduced when schools have one racial composition than some others should not be taken too seriously. Moreover the finding in Chapter 3 that whites in segregated schools were significantly more tolerant does not result in proportion black playing an important independent role in the multivariate analysis.

Fourth, the background variables analyzed in Chapter 3 are infrequently important in the multivariate equations. Educational aspiration is the only variable to often play a role among blacks. For whites this variable, urbanization and sex are the only ones to appear in more than one equation.

Thus while a number of the background variables correlated significantly with racial tolerance -- particularly white racial tolerance -- in the bivariate analysis, they add little to the explanatory powers of other variables.

This study advances the understanding of the correlates of student racial attitudes. A number of variables which others have found to be correlated with tolerance, especially those tapping background characteristics, are shown to have relatively little independent influence. Although there are bivariate relationships, other variables supplant them when a multivariate analysis is performed. Racial attitudes of the students in this sample were more likely to be predicted by what they perceive to be their parents' or friends' racial feelings. The foremost items, parental attitudes, is not subject to influence by school officials and thus cannot be directly affected by policy makers' actions.

School officials may be able to exert greater influence over some other variables which play a role in determining student attitudes. Promotion of tolerance among whites would seem to be advanced by structuring situations which would increase inter-racial interaction in the schools. Table 6 suggests that positive white attitudes about blacks are most likely to occur when there is extensive inter-racial contact. Moderate amounts of contact are, in some contexts, associated with less tolerance than where no contact occurs. Therefore teachers and administrators should encourage more than just token interaction, especially among younger students.

Contact does not, however, appear to be important in shaping blacks' attitudes about whites. The most important element here which school officials may be able to influence is self-concept. By bolstering black self-esteem teachers and administrators may promote racial tolerance among blacks.

To the extent that heightened self esteem makes blacks tolerant and inter-racial contact makes whites tolerant, school officials can indirectly influence another important independent variable. Promoting situations so as to create tolerance and understanding may result in a larger share of a student body being tolerant so that it is more likely that each student will perceive his/her friends as being unprejudiced. Such perceptions are associated with greater tolerance.

A final point to be noted is that while there are variations in the racial attitudes observed in the students attending the 28 Georgia schools, basically the students were tolerant. Data in Tables 1, 2 and 3 indicate that most students, black and white, are willing to interact with members of the other race and have positive feelings about the other race. Much of the bigotry which was so readily apparent in earlier generations of southern whites was simply not found. To some extent, therefore, this analysis has dealt with variations in tolerance and not with a large segment of unreconstructed racists.

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